

International Publishing in the Netherlands,
1933–1945

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 13

The Industrial World

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VOLUME 3

International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933–1945

German Exile, Scholarly Expansion,
War-Time Clandestinity

By
Hendrik Edelman



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I am, as always, most grateful to my wife, Dr. Antoinette M. Kania, who is as good a listener as she is an informed and critical reader.

¹ Edelman (2004).

² Andriesse (2008).

³ Gerits (2004).

⁴ Edelman (2006).

This book is dedicated to the memory of my father, Cornelis Hendrik Edelman (1903–1964), geologist and professor of soil science at the Agricultural University in Wageningen from 1933 until his untimely death at the age of sixty-one. He has contributed much to Dutch international scholarship through teaching, research and publication. His inspiration endures.

Hendrik Edelman

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INTRODUCTION

Background

The ideas behind this book have evolved over a long period of time. Although I had been aware of German exile publishing in the Netherlands in the 1930's for many years, my active interest first developed while working on my book on Dutch language publishing in the United States (1985). In my research for the corollary story on German exile publishing in the United States, I encountered some of the actual exile imprints from World War II. From the establishment of Querido New York in 1941, about which I wrote, the story moved back in time to the beginning of 1933, when the first books by German exile presses began to be published in the Netherlands. Several Dutch publishers, for their own reasons as we will see, responded to the publishing needs of many Jewish authors who had fled Germany after Hitler's take-over in early 1933. Their books had been condemned and banned and they needed to continue to write and to publish in order to find creative outlets and to provide much needed financial income. The well-established houses of Querido, Allert de Lange, Sijthoff and Elsevier set up special departments to publish German-language books. The stories of these publishing efforts, the authors, the books and the many obstacles that were encountered, are told in separate chapters in this book. A number of smaller exile publishers also existed and their endeavors are described here as well.

While Querido, and Allert de Lange's German-language programs did not survive beyond the German occupation of the Netherlands in 1940, other such Dutch exile publishing programs, notably those offered by Sijthoff and Elsevier, proved to be the foundation of successful post-war activities. Martinus Nijhoff and Brill had long published for the international scholarly community and continued to do so after the war, but important new contributions and impulses were derived from the publication of scholars exiled from Nazi Germany. Other publishers, whose activities in the 1930's are described in this book, such as Dr. W. Junk, Chronica Botanica, Noordhoff and the North-Holland Publishing Company, have had similar, long lasting experiences.

Through my own professional experience at Martinus Nijhoff in the early part of my career and continued later at D. Reidel Publishing Company, I became directly involved with the development of Dutch international publishing in the post World War II era. In the process, I was fortunate enough to meet several of the major players, notably at Elsevier and North-Holland. But it was not until I wrote my article on Maurits Dekker and Eric Proskauer and the founding of Interscience in New York in 1941, which had its origins in the Netherlands, that I realized that the history of exile publishing and the rise of international publishing in the Netherlands were closely related.¹

There is yet a third dimension that emerges in my book, which was also originally unintended. During the German occupation of the Netherlands between 1940 and 1945, a remarkable output of clandestine, finely produced limited editions mostly of a literary character was printed and distributed. Many of these were in French, but some were also in English and German. The resurgence of the book arts in the Netherlands in the early part of the twentieth century followed patterns developed earlier in France and Great Britain. Established printing houses such as Joh. Enschedé in Haarlem and Boosten en Stols in Maastricht developed an international reputation in typesetting, design and printing, helped by the creative forces of several Dutch typographers. But it was especially Alexandre Stols, who became an outstanding and enterprising designer and publisher in the 1920's and whose career is featured in the publisher profiles. Pantheon in Amsterdam combined the book arts with scholarly editions in an unusual and unique experience. Several other printers and publishers participated in the production and distribution of these clandestine editions as well.

Premises

The history of books and periodicals, notably the history of their printing, publishing and distribution has been long dominated by the works of bibliographers. Ever since the introduction of printing in the fifteenth century, it was recognized that books codified the production of knowledge and culture, and there was a need to identify, collect, describe and ultimately classify the production of the printing presses

¹ Edelman (2004–2005).

all over the world. Such has been the often self-appointed task of bibliographers who largely came from the traditions of librarianship and bookselling. Bibliography ultimately developed its own specializations and protocols and, until fairly recently, it was considered one of the foundations of modern library and information science. But the physical and analytical considerations of books and periodicals proved to be too narrow a base for the emerging modern scholarly disciplines of social history, literature, sociology, anthropology and economics. Questions raised about the social and cultural aspects of the production, dissemination and reception, required new approaches and evaluation methodologies.

In 1955 historian Sigfrid H. Steinberg, a German exile in England, provided a comprehensive and enduring overview of printing and publishing.² Three years later in 1958, coincidentally the same year I entered the book trade, French historians Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin and sociologist Robert Escarpit published their barrier breaking studies, which are still considered fundamental for the modern study of the book.³ During the past fifty years, a wealth of new research, often based on archival sources that were not available before, has been published by a wide range of scholars, thus re-defining the history of the book as a new interdisciplinary specialty with its own national and international scholarly associations, meetings, journals, teaching programs and, yes, bibliography. Robert Darnton, historian and librarian, has admirably summarized these accomplishments in an often reprinted and cited essay.⁴

A few definitions and clarifications of the title and nature of this book might be in order. Publishing, the process of managing the production and distribution of printed texts, developed from the traditions of printing and bookselling. By the middle of the nineteenth century, all these three branches became more or less specialized professions, although, even today, the borderlines can be nebulous. For the purposes of this book, I have identified two major types of publishers; trade publishing and scholarly and scientific publishing. Trade publishing produces books and periodicals directed at general audiences and distributed mainly through wholesalers and booksellers. The financial risk lies with the publisher, who pays authors and printers

² Steinberg (1955).

³ Febvre/Martin (1958); Escarpit (1958).

⁴ Darnton (1992).

and allows discounts to the trade. Scholarly and scientific publishing produces books and periodicals for their specialized clientele, marketed mostly through libraries. Traditionally, the author and production costs have been subsidized by government agencies, national academies, universities and other public and private institutions, as well as by scholarly and professional societies and associations. The subsidies were necessary, because of the often high production costs and limited markets. Varying from country to country, parts of this subsidized production have also been marketed through commercial publishers and booksellers, especially since the nineteenth century. Entrepreneurial commercial scholarly and scientific publishing emerged in Germany in the twentieth century as an alternative to the traditional model and is very much a subject of this book.

The term international publishing also requires an explanation, because there are differing national and cultural interpretations. When Latin was the 'lingua franca' of the scholarly world, the distribution and use of the books printed in that language had no geographic or political boundaries. But when vernacular languages became the standard in the eighteenth century, changes in distribution evolved. For large parts of continental Europe, including the Netherlands, and most of Latin America, French became the standard language of scholarship. Thus French-language books and periodicals were widely exported and, as we will see, often reprinted in other countries. During the same period, the rise of the British Empire and the growth of the United States established large markets for English-language books and periodicals. While there was an emerging indigenous publishing industry in the United States, British publishers, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, dominated the international markets until fairly recently. As late as the second part of the twentieth century, more than sixty percent of British books were exported. Because of the rise of academic and industrial research in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century, German became the leading international language in many disciplines. For the other European language areas, the experience was different. Most book and periodical production in the vernacular languages in other countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was intended for domestic consumption.

Such was the case in the Netherlands. But there were unique aspects to it as well. While most scholars in major language countries were mono- or bi-lingual, Dutch scholars were trained to access the literatures of all three major foreign languages. There had been, as we will

see, a limited amount of scholarly publishing in French, German and English, in the Netherlands throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the pre-war period described in this book saw a considerable expansion of such publishing. It set the stage for the important role the Netherlands would play in international publishing in the second part of the twentieth century.

Like some of my previous writings, this book is bio-bibliographic in nature. The books and periodicals and their authors and publishers are the primary sources on which the publishing histories in this book are based. Because of this emphasis, the book is somewhat encyclopedic in character. The complete story is illustrated by the individual publisher profiles. Most of the profiles in this book point to remarkable publishing accomplishments under often very challenging conditions. Underlying this experience is the real tragedy of personal, political, religious or artistic exile. Many of the participants in these publishing profiles did not survive the brutality of the Nazi regime. Their books and periodicals, however, are still with us, preserved in our major libraries, and they remain the essential documentation for the cultural and intellectual history of the period between 1933 and 1945.

The catalog of English, French and German publications at the end of this book is intended to be a record of the cumulative accomplishments of Dutch international publishers between 1933 and 1945. While the Dutch national book trade bibliography *Brinkman's Catalogus* does include foreign language imprints, they are hard to identify and the list is far from complete. Similarly, the national and trade bibliographies of Germany, France and Great Britain have proved to be unreliable with regard to their coverage of books and periodicals published abroad. With the hindsight of time and the use of modern bibliographical databases, this catalog is considerably more inclusive although it too, can never be complete. Doctoral dissertations from Dutch universities have been excluded, except in cases when they were published in commercial editions. Individual monographs, embedded in the proceedings of the Royal Dutch Academy have been included. While I have examined many of the individual books and periodicals listed here, the bibliographic data of some publications were taken from secondary sources cited in the bibliography. It is likely therefore that at least some descriptive errors have found their way into the catalog.

In my research I have drawn on published and unpublished sources. There is an extensive primary and secondary literature, mostly in the German language, on the experience of exiled German and Austrian

authors and their publishers in the Netherlands. It was originally the East-German government, which, for its own reasons, encouraged historians to explore the Jewish German exile during the Nazi era. The remarkable re-discovery of the Allert de Lange archives, confiscated and transported to Germany during the war, only to surface recently in Russia and returned safely to Amsterdam, has also spawned more current research.

There are several, but unfortunately, quite incomplete, Dutch-language books and articles on publishing and bookselling in the Netherlands during the 1933–1945 period. There are a number of existing company histories, but they are typically uncritical and very little archival material was preserved. However, in recent years, several archives of important Dutch publishers have become available. The university libraries of Amsterdam and Leiden have taken a leadership role in the preservation and accessibility of these. The staff of the University of Leiden Library kindly made the yet only partially processed Sijthoff archive available to me; so did the staff of the Royal Library in The Hague, where the few remnants of the Nijhoff files await funding for processing. The Brill archive, deposited at the University of Amsterdam, is also not yet available, although a recently published company history has added valuable insight. Other significant publishing information was found in the archives of individual authors, which, of course, are widely scattered over two continents. They have been cited wherever applicable.

Conclusions

The politically conservative Dutch government allowed thousands of German exiles into the country after 1933. Within a general understanding that they would not directly take any actions to alienate the Nazi government, the exiles were allowed to write, publish and practice their professions. In general, they were welcomed and assisted in their exile by prominent Dutch authors and scholars. Several Dutch universities took advantage of the newly arrived talent and made appropriate appointments. Anti-semitism, while latent in broad segments of the population, did not have much influence in practical politics. However, towards the later years of the decade, continuing secondary migration to Great Britain and the United States and the lack of younger talent eroded the creative literary and scholarly

productivity of the German exile community in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Western Europe. An era came to an end with the German invasion of France, Belgium and the Netherlands in 1940. Exiles in Great Britain and the United States, by choice or by necessity, published in English.

The Netherlands had always been a good market for foreign literature, in translation, as well as in the vernacular. Between 1933 and 1940 hundreds of German books and periodicals were published in the Netherlands by and on behalf of the large exile community. It is a significant corpus of literary and scholarly accomplishment. The markets for these books, however, declined steadily over the decade. The sharp rise in remaindered German books, actually encouraged by the Nazis, further eroded the demand. There were already severe distribution restrictions in Germany in place in 1933, but when Austria and Czechoslovakia were annexed in 1938, it became increasingly difficult to continue to publish and market new books. The German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940 effectively closed down all remaining exile related publishing operations. Efforts to engage the large German-American community were disappointing and unsuccessful. The New York branch of Querido, established in 1941, soon began to publish in English.

After the end of the first World War, the international reputation of German science began to decline. Notably the French scientific community wanted revenge, and despite efforts from other countries, including the Netherlands, the boycott of German scholars and scientists lasted well into the 1920's. Meanwhile, American war-time industrial research flourished and in a number of disciplines English-language sources gained in prominence. International library protests against the prices and the volume, as well as the content of major German periodicals led to a further erosion of the market. The Nazi take-over in 1933 and its subsequent dismembering of the German research establishment proved to be the final blow. New competing international journals were started in several countries, including the Netherlands, new English-language standard reference works were published, and, ultimately competing indexing and abstracting services were initiated. The gradual shift from German to English is a sub-text in the various publisher profiles in this book.

The traditional model of scholarly and scientific publishing, where much of the subsidized books and journals were published by academies, scholarly and professional societies, universities and other

government sponsored institutions, still was the norm in the early 1930's in the Netherlands. Brill, Nijhoff and Sijthoff were major commercial distributors of such publications. The North-Holland Publishing Company was founded in 1931 for the very purpose of distributing the publications of the Royal Dutch Academy. But during the period described in this book, several Dutch publishers such as Junk, *Chronica Botanica* and Elsevier began to publish German and English books and journals on their own initiative and account. Dutch scholarly and scientific publishing subsequently became more entrepreneurial, following the model established by several major German publishers. The competing forces of subsidized and entrepreneurial publishing, as well as several ways in which both parties benefited, would become the dominant and sometimes controversial theme in the period of growth after World War II.

The creative artistic energy of book arts printing and publishing during the German occupation did not carry into the post-war period. However, several individuals, active in the clandestine book world, became important new leaders in Dutch post-war trade publishing. It had been an act of defiance, sometimes based on ideology, and sometimes for justified economic reasons. It had demonstrated the breadth of international literary culture in the Netherlands at the time. The lack of available good literature combined with a large enough number of affluent customers, had made many of the efforts a success.

PROLOGUE

International Publishing in the Netherlands

The Netherlands, or the Lowlands, emerged as a culture area in the eighth century. They were a loosely linked conglomeration of fiefdoms, bordered in the East by German states and in the South by France. The territory was peopled by Frisians in the North, Saxons and Franks in the South. Linked by their location in the delta of the great rivers Rhine and Meuse, common trade developed and a distinct Germanic language, Low Dutch, evolved.

By 1450, at the time of the introduction of the printing press in Europe, the various independent states of Flanders, Brabant, Limburg, Gelderland, Holland and Zeeland came under the control of the Dukes of Burgundy, closely allied with the French king. Later, Philip (the Good) (1396–1467) became the first Burgundian ruler to separate himself from France. After the death of his son, Charles (the Bold) (1433–1477), the French possessions were lost, and the next generation, Charles' daughter Maria (1457–1482) and her Hapsburg husband Maximilian (1459–1519), consolidated their rule of the Netherlands. Their son, Philip (the Fair) (1478–1506) was born and raised in Flanders and was fluent in the local language and a supporter of the arts. He married Juana of Aragon (1479–1555), and their son Charles V (1500–1558), born in Ghent and equally steeped in the Netherlandish culture, ultimately, because of his mother's heritage, became the emperor of Spain and the Netherlands; a fateful combination indeed.

Printing was initially slow to take hold in the Netherlands, but by 1500 there were several active printers in Louvain, Brussels and Antwerp in the South, and in Haarlem, Gouda, Delft, Utrecht, Deventer and Zwolle in the North. The European book trade, which followed the introduction of the printing press in the second half of the fifteenth century, transcended political boundaries, despite, as well as sometimes due to, governmental and church censorship efforts. By the middle of the sixteenth century, a network of enterprising printers and booksellers had been active for decades in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, France and the Netherlands.¹ Bibles and classical texts were the

¹ Hirsch (1974).

main staple of the international trade.² National annual fairs were important for the display and trade in books. Frankfurt, which had been a European mercantile center for centuries, became the home of a large international bi-annual fair in which books were exchanged and traded by a great number of publishers and their agents.

Most of the Netherlandic printers concentrated their efforts on the local and regional markets, but some of them also catered directly to those in Germany, England and France as authors in those countries were often suppressed for political or religious reasons. One of the early Dutch participants in the international book trade was the Gouda printer Gerard Leeu (ca.1445–1492), who printed in Latin, French and English. Among his commercial successes was the first Latin edition of Marco Polo's travels in 1483. He moved his business to Antwerp in 1484, as that city was rapidly becoming the major book trade center for the Netherlands in the early sixteenth century. Its geographic location allowed for a convergence of trade routes between the North and the South and its convenient access to coastal seafare. Business prospered and Antwerp boosted a considerable foreign population, giving it a cosmopolitan atmosphere in which the arts flourished. The book arts flourished as well. One of the early Antwerp practitioners was the mathematician, cartographer and engraver, Mercator (Gerard de Cremer, 1512–1594). He was born in Flanders, received his degree from the University of Louvain and moved to Antwerp in 1532. He combined his skills in making globes, maps and astronomical instruments. Although initially supported by Charles V, he was arrested on the charge of Lutheranism. Despite a proposed compromise, he left for Protestant Duisburg in 1552, where he stayed for the rest of his life. There he taught mathematics and produced globes and maps. His famous two-volume atlas was published in 1595. His younger colleague and collaborator Ortelius (Abraham Ortel, 1527–1598) also worked in Antwerp. His major atlas, the first of its kind, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, was printed in Antwerp by Pieter Heyns in 1570. The atlas went through many editions in many languages.³

Christophe Plantin, (1524–1589) was one of the printers of these subsequent Ortelius editions. He was born in France, trained in Paris and established himself as a bookbinder in Antwerp in 1548. Plantin opened a print shop in 1555 and soon became one of Europe's leading

² Jones (2004).

³ Fockema Andrae (1947); Crane (2003).

publishers and booksellers. Combining sophisticated printing technology with artistic designs and quality texts, the Plantin print shop eventually produced hundreds of books for the European market. He became a leading participant in the 'Latin trade', the international exchanges of classical texts, which had originated in Germany, Switzerland and France several generations before. With financial support from Emperor Charles V, Plantin produced a monumental multi-volume illustrated bible with Latin translations, which he completed in 1572. Publicly maintaining his Catholicism, he gained a profitable monopoly of liturgical works for the Spanish lands. But Plantin was an excellent businessman as well, and he was able to expand his printing works and sell internationally through a network of dealers. Already in 1566, sensing the growing international market for Protestant books, he sent his associate Augustijn van Hasselt with a complete print shop, to Vianen, outside Utrecht.

The incongruity of the joint rule of Spain and the Netherlands, came to the fore around the time the Reformation began to spread throughout Europe. After the succession of Charles V's son Philip II to the throne in 1556, the political condition in the Spanish Netherlands changed dramatically. While Charles V had reigned from Brussels largely through local noblemen, Philip II moved to Spain. Moreover, he decided to fight the rise of Protestantism through the use of the ruthless Inquisition. Soon, support from his local councilors diminished and turned into public protest and rebellion. When the local Protestant population attacked and occupied the Catholic churches throughout the region in 1566, Philip sent in Spanish troops to quell the unrest. Northern Netherlands seafaring guerillas invaded several towns and more Spanish troops were sent to punish the dissident Northern provinces of Holland and Zeeland. Sieges of several cities were at first successful, but after the insurgents had battled back the Spaniards from Leiden in 1574, the tide turned in favor of the insurgents. However, the Spaniards sacked Antwerp in 1576 and continued to dominate in the South. A de-facto split between North and South was established in 1579, when the various provinces aligned themselves. Antwerp, which had been in Protestant hands for a while, fell again in 1585 and the Northerners, who by now dominated the seas, closed off the Scheldt river and the city lost its major trade connections as a result.

With the religious and trade borders now firmly established, the exodus of businessmen, artisans and artists from Antwerp and other

major Southern cities accelerated. Tens of thousands of people moved North, creating a true wave of economic and cultural change. Most of the newly arriving exiles were Calvinists, while many Northern Catholics moved South. Not surprisingly, printers, booksellers, type-founders, paper-makers and other members of the book trade moved North as well, and their effect on cultural and commercial life was dramatic.⁴

Amsterdam benefited the foremost from the decline of the South. In 1578, the city, already the largest in the North, declared itself on the side of the insurgency and came under a Protestant administration. Soon, the city became the leading Dutch international commercial center, taking on the roles that Antwerp had played before. The book trade made its presence felt soon afterward. The first manifestation of the new printing and publishing activities closely followed the newly emerging leadership position of the international Dutch seafaring trade.

The Nautical Trade

Cornelis Claesz (1546–1609), a bookseller from Brabant, moved to Amsterdam in 1578. Four years later he opened a print shop as well. Claesz developed excellent connections with the shipping trade. Each newly arrived ship brought new information and soon his maps, charts and travel accounts were widely distributed. He took over the production of Lucas Jansz Waghenaer's *Spiegel der Zeevaerdt* in 1590. Waghenaer (ca. 1533–1606) from Enkhuizen, was one the earliest major cartographers in the Netherlands. The German edition was offered at the Frankfurt book fair, and Claesz became the first Amsterdam publisher to be represented there. He worked closely with the great astronomer and geographer Petrus Plancius (1552–1622), a refugee from Brussels, who was a map maker and one of the founders of the Dutch East India Company. Claesz published his major world map, *Nova et Exacta Terrarum Tabula* in 1592. Of great international significance was the publication in 1595 of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's travel accounts, *Itinerario*.

Another Southern refugee was Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612). He arrived in 1593 in Amsterdam from Flanders and also became a major participant in the nautical publishing industry. In 1604, he purchased

⁴ Briels (1974).

the plates of Mercator's *Atlas* from Plantin and used them to produce his own series of atlases. After his death, his son-in-law, Johannes Janssonius (1588–1664), continued and greatly expanded the international business. He established sales branches throughout Europe.

A major competitor of Hondius and his successor, was Dutch-born Willem Jansz Blaeu (1571–1638). He was a mathematician, geographer and astronomer, who had trained with Tycho Brahe in Denmark. Blaeu moved to Amsterdam in 1596, initially as a globe and scientific instrument maker. He expanded into printing in 1599. His maps and atlases were famous for their accuracy and artistry, and he became the emblem of the power of the Dutch international sea-trade. He subsequently became the map maker for the Dutch East India Company, which strengthened his reputation. In 1635 he purchased from the estate of Cornelis Claesz the plates of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. After his death, he was succeeded by sons Cornelis (-1664) and Joan (1596–1673). They issued their crowning cartographical achievement, the *Atlas Major*, in 1662. It consisted of twelve monumental volumes, and was issued in Latin, Dutch, French and Spanish editions. A fire destroyed most of the business in 1672. Surviving plates were sold and kept in print by other publishers, well into the eighteenth century. But the primary nautical role of the Netherlands and its publishers was already diminished by that time.

The Religious Trade

The European trade in Latin and vernacular bibles was well-established at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Plantin had been a major contributor. He also had produced a Hebrew bible for export to the Jewish communities in North Africa. But with the spread of the Reformation, the need for bibles and religious instructional materials soon outstripped the available stocks. Dutch printers stepped into the breach. Laurens Jacobsz, who had interned with Cornelis Claesz, settled in Amsterdam in 1585, and soon became the first major bible and theological publisher of his era. But many other printers in most of the Dutch cities participated as well. Amsterdam printers Joseph Athias operated twelve presses for his bible business. It was a profitable staple, the income of which allowed them to invest in other, more risky projects.

With their expertise in typesetting and printing, Dutch printers were able to mass-produce bibles at lower costs than most of the ones printed elsewhere. Thus, the so-called Holland Bibles came to dominate

not only the English and Scottish markets, but also those in many other countries. Dutch publishers were printing and distributing bibles in Dutch, Latin, English, French, German, Spanish, Hebrew and even in Armenian and Malaysian. Hundreds of thousands of these bibles, an unprecedented number indeed, followed the trade routes of the Dutch ships throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, and the export most often defied the efforts of other governments to block such trade. False imprints were frequently used to circumvent such official actions. But not only Protestant bibles were printed. Catholic versions came onto the market as well as missals and other liturgical books. Amsterdam publishers often used Cologne as a safe fictitious imprint for those books.

Compared to the religious suppression in many countries, the Dutch printers were relatively free to do whatever they wanted, especially in languages other than Dutch. While there were restrictive printing laws in the Netherlands, their enforcement was often lax. English Puritans relied on Dutch printers for much of their theological and educational works, which included early editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁵ Many religious dissidents had their treatises and instructional texts printed in the Netherlands. Several English printers actually settled in the Netherlands, as did others from Germany and France.

By the mid-century, Amsterdam would overtake Venice as the center for Hebrew printing. Two of the most important participants were Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657) and Immanuel Benveniste (1608–1664). His Talmud edition of three thousand copies was intended for export to Eastern Europe. The international trade in Holland Bibles continued well into the eighteenth century. Actually, smuggled bibles from the Netherlands provided for much of the needs of the American people during and after the American Revolution when the trade with England was curtailed.

The Latin Trade

If Amsterdam became the leading commercial center of the Netherlands, Leiden emerged as the city with the greatest intellectual activities. In recognition of its role in the face of the Spanish siege in 1572, Prince Willem of Orange, granted the city the charter of a new university, which was founded in 1575. The newly established University of Leiden

⁵ Sprunger (1994).

soon took root and under the intellectual leadership of the Louvain latinist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), began to attract scholars and students from many European countries. Its early development was also greatly influenced by the Southern immigration. In 1577, the Antwerp-born and trained Willem Sylvius (ca. 1520–1580) was appointed as the official printer and bookseller to the university. He was succeeded in that position, albeit only for three years, by Christophe Plantin (1520–1589), who had moved from Antwerp when the violence of the Spanish attacks became threatening.

Plantin's Leiden arrival marked the beginning of a great era of scholarly printing and publishing in the young Republic. His typographical, organizational and marketing skills set new standards, that greatly influenced his competitors. During his short three-year stay, Plantin produced well over a hundred titles. He returned to Antwerp in 1586, when he received guarantees for his safety and business endeavors from Philip II. After his death in 1589, the printing and publishing program in Antwerp was continued by his son-in-law Jan Moretus (1589–1610). The Plantin office continued successfully under the Moretus family leadership until 1870.⁶

Plantin's other son-in-law, the scholarly François van Raphelengen (1539–1597), succeeded him as university printer in Leiden. He was subsequently appointed as professor of Hebrew at the university and embarked on a remarkable dual career as a scholar and publisher. Using his expertise, he added Hebrew and Arabic to his firm's printing repertoire. After van Raphelengen's death in 1597 he was succeeded by his sons Christoffel and Frans who kept using the Plantin imprint, but the list soon lost its academic character. The printing office was closed in 1619 and sold to the Antwerp Moretus office.

But there were other entrepreneurs from the South as well who settled in Leiden. Louis Elsevier (1546–1617), who had interned with Plantin in Antwerp, fled to Leiden in 1580. He first worked as a bookbinder and opened his own bookstore in 1586. He started publishing in 1592, and the list had grown to some 120 titles when he died in 1617. The second and third generation of Elseviers now took charge. A printing office was opened in 1620, to which the capacity of printing in Hebrew and Arabic was added in 1625. Under the leadership of Bonaventura (1583–1652) and his nephew Abraham (1596–1651), the rise of Elsevier to one of Europe's major printers and publishers

⁶ Voet (1969).

took place. Through a combination of sophisticated printing technology, close contacts with the scholarly world and innovative marketing, Elsevier imprints, and especially the small duodecimo formats, soon began to dominate the Latin and Greek texts. The Leiden scholar Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) served as a major editorial advisor. With a branch in Amsterdam, the business flourished under the fourth generation of Elseviers and continued until its ultimate demise in 1712.⁷

There were other major Dutch participants in the Latin and scholarly trade as well. The Amsterdam publisher Willem Jansz Blaeu and his son Joan as well as Johannes Janssonius (1588–1664) were major players. The latter had subsidiaries in Frankfurt, Danzig, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin and Königsberg. In Leiden, François Hackius (1605–69) was an active participant. In the same city, Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733), who had purchased much of the Elsevier type and several of his presses in 1713, was a worthy successor to the Dutch international publishing and bookselling tradition. Despite the fierce competition for titles and markets, several publishers formed ad-hoc consortia from time to time to finance and distribute expensive works. One such project was the publication of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* in 1661, in which Blaeu, Elsevier and Hackius participated in equal share. The Frankfurt book fair remained the most important focus of the Latin trade throughout the century, while exchanges in sheets was the most common commodity among the various participants.

Of great importance to the Dutch publishers in the seventeenth century was the presence of a large number of international scholars with international reputations. Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) and Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) were among the early stars at Leiden. They were followed by the mathematician Rudolf Snell van Royen (1546–1613) and his son Willebrord Snellius (1580–1626), and the classicists Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653) and Jacobus Golius (1596–1667). After a major religious dispute in the Leiden theology department, the University of Amsterdam was founded in 1631 by expelled scholars Caspar Barlaeus (1584–1648) and Gerhard Vossius (1577–1649). In Utrecht were Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) and Henricus Regius (1598–1679). Other eminent scholars, active in the Netherlands, whose publications were distributed throughout Europe were Simon Stevin (1548–1620), Hugo Grotius (1583–1646), René Descartes (1596–1630), Christiaan

⁷ Davies (1954); Dongelmans (2000).

Huygens (1629–1695), Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), Antonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), Jan Swammerdam (1637–80) and Herman Boerhaave (1668–1730).

The Dutch book trade in the seventeenth century truly was the center of the European book trade.⁸ The unique combination of sophisticated printing technology, a solid financial infrastructure, the international shipping trade channels and the immediate access to prominent and productive scholarship were the major contributing factors.

The French Trade

By 1700, the use of Latin had declined as the major international language. Increasingly, scholars began writing and publishing in the vernacular. Thus, the use of English, French and German became common, bringing to an end the great era of international publishing and book-selling. In response, Leipzig took over some of the functions of Frankfurt as the international market place. While Frankfurt remained a center for the Latin trade and scholarship, the Leipzig book fair began to attract the majority of the German booksellers and many foreign participants, including the Dutch followed.

But it was the renewed threat to Protestants in France in the 1680's that caused yet another major exodus of Southern talent. Many Huguenots fled to England, Germany and the Netherlands. Among them were many prominent intellectuals, but also several printers and booksellers. Some twenty Huguenot booksellers settled in Amsterdam between 1680 and 1725. It significantly boosted the production of French language printing and publishing.

One of the first French-language efforts was the publication of a new newspaper in 1677, *Nouvelles Extraordinaires de Divers Endroit*, edited by Huguenot exile Jean Alexandre de la Font. It would have a long and distinguished life as the *Gazette of Leyde* until 1813. Of a different character was the periodical of literary criticism *Nouvelles de République des Lettres*, published in Rotterdam. Its editor was the French philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647–1706). Bayle had taken an appointment at the École Illustre at Rotterdam in 1681, when the University of Sedan, where he had been teaching, was forced to close. The new journal was an instant success in France as well as in the rest of Europe.

⁸ Hellings (2001); Berkvens-Stevelinck (1992).

Soon afterward several competing periodicals were started in the Netherlands. The first was called *Bibliothèque Universel et Historique* and was published in Amsterdam between 1686–93 by a consortium of four publishers.⁹ Its editor was the biblical scholar Jean Leclerc (1657–1736), who had settled in Amsterdam. The second, *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans* (1687–1709) was published by Reinier Leers and edited by the historian Henri Basnage de Beauval (1657–1710) who had moved to Rotterdam in 1687. Prosper Marchand (1678–1756), born and trained in France, moved to The Hague in 1709. He published *Journal Historique de la République des Lettres* in 1732. He also published books by Pierre Bayle, including the major *Grand Dictionnaire Historique* by Louis Moréri and Bayle in 1758–1759.

The Dutch publishers controlled a good part of the emerging French-language periodical press, and it provided them with a new way to advertise their stocks, enhancing the tradition of issuing periodic sales catalogs. Many prominent, and not so prominent, publishers began to issue books in French. Elsevier and Blaeu played important roles in Amsterdam. So did the younger generation, such as the booksellers Reinier Leers (1654–1714) in Rotterdam, and Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733) in Leiden. The latter two established major international trade channels for their publications and stocks.

Original works, not allowed to appear in France, were published in the major Dutch cities, often with false imprints to mislead the French authorities. Many others were reprinted and distributed throughout Europe. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Netherlands remained an important center for French-language publishing. The growing international interest in French literary, political, philosophical writers such as Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot boosted the market, and the Dutch publishers were quick to respond to the challenges. In addition to the scholarly publications, there were many plays, poetry and novels, both literary and popular. Although there were strict censorship laws in the Netherlands, they were poorly enforced, especially where it concerned foreign language publications.

Joining forces in the Netherlands were several French refugee publishers. Prominent among them was Marc-Michel Rey (1720–1780) from Geneva, who came to Amsterdam in 1744. He was the main publisher of Rousseau and several other leading Enlightenment writers. There was Jean Néaulme (1694–1780), whose headquarters were in

⁹ Bots (1988).

Amsterdam since 1754, but he had branches in Paris, Berlin and Altona, as well as Elie Luzac (1721–1796), the publisher of the earlier mentioned *Gazette de Leyde*, who was active in Leiden between 1742 and 1769.¹⁰

When the French government ultimately relaxed its religious and political censorship, the international book and periodical production in the Netherlands declined. Already, the competition of English and German publishers in their own countries had diminished the role of the Dutch in those markets. However, the international language of Dutch scholarship would remain French for several generations.

After the French Revolution and the subsequent French occupation of the Netherlands, the Dutch book trade mainly concentrated on its own domestic market. There were some exceptions, however. The most prominent Dutch bookseller in the nineteenth century, publisher and bibliographer, Frederik Muller (1817–1881), attracted much attention in the United States and its emerging library market, with his catalogs and publications relating the European sources for American history. His protégé Martinus Nijhoff (1826–1894), who had established his own bookstore in The Hague in 1853, published significant bibliographical works on Dutch early printing by Johan W. Holtrop (1806–1870) and Marinus F.A.G. Campbell (1819–1890), both librarians of the Royal Dutch Library. Nijhoff also acquired the rights for the continental European distribution of several of the works of the American historian John Lothrop Motley (1814–1877), which he published between 1860 and 1874.

The use of the Dutch language was, of course, geographically limited. The language was spoken only in the Netherlands and in parts of Belgium, where a separate book trade emerged. Export to Dutch-speaking emigrant communities in the Netherlands East Indies, the Caribbean, South Africa and the United States was concentrated on textbooks, popular literature and religious books and periodicals. The Dutch Reformed Church and its theologians remained influential abroad. But, as we will see in the subsequent publishers profiles, the international role of Dutch scholarly publishers was limited to only a few participants. Brill in Leiden, continued the rich traditions of the Leiden University oriental scholarship. Martinus Nijhoff in The Hague, became the distributor of the publications of important scholarly and scientific organizations, such as the Teyler Museum, while Sijthoff in

¹⁰ Dubosq (1925).

Leiden became the printer and distributor of the publications of the International Court of Justice, established in The Hague after the end of World War I.

International scholarship flourished during the first part of the twentieth century in the Netherlands. No less than five Dutch Nobel prize winners were recognized between 1901 and 1929 in chemistry, physics and medicine. There were many organizations and institutions, from which foreign language publications emanated. However, most of these were not published through established trade publishers. First of all, there was the Royal Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam. From its early beginnings during the French occupation in 1808, the various reports and proceedings, published in periodicals and monographic series were never commercially distributed. As part of long-term international scholarly traditions, the publications were exchanged with other academies and universities abroad, thus benefiting the academy's library in Amsterdam. Among other organizations which published journals with a strong international character, were the Tropical Institute, the Bureau of Art Documentation, and the Dutch Botanical Society.

But there were also the major Dutch universities of Amsterdam, Leiden, Utrecht and Groningen. Several of their specialized institutes and laboratories, such as the Leiden Physics Laboratory and the Institute for the Dutch East Indies, also in Leiden, produced significant periodicals, book series and reports, mainly issued through local printers. Other examples were the astronomical observatories attached to the universities, which had a long tradition of publishing in languages other than Dutch.¹¹ So were the numerous dissertations, inaugural lectures and other academic publications, which were often written in English, French and German, depending on the topic. Most of these were never distributed through trade channels and mainly used for academic exchanges.

The financial crisis of 1929 and the subsequent economic depression took its toll on the scholarly book trade as well. The reduced purchasing power of libraries at home and abroad had sharp effects, especially for Martinus Nijhoff and their main Amsterdam competitor Swets & Zeitlinger. Founded in 1901 by Adriaan Swets and Heinrich Zeitlinger in Amsterdam, the company was primarily a library supplier and

¹¹ The most significant of these periodicals with a long history which were still current in 1933 are included in the attached Catalog.

subscription agent. By 1928 it had expanded its original marketing emphasis on South Africa to the United States and become a major supplier of back sets of scientific periodicals. Domestic publishing also suffered, especially after the government instituted language spelling changes in 1934, which made the stock of textbooks almost worthless overnight, while requiring considerable investments in new editions. The recovery efforts were slow, as we will see in the next chapters.

International Publishing in Germany

Germany, of course, was the cradle of the European printing press. And from the beginning of the fifteenth century, German printers played a major role in the distribution of the art of printing books throughout Europe. With the advent of printing classical texts in Greek and Latin, the Frankfurt book fair became the European center for booksellers and printers to buy, sell and exchange their stocks and for scholars to meet. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as other countries, and notably the Netherlands, began to increase their production, the international role of Germany somewhat diminished. Leipzig slowly replaced Frankfurt as the German publishing center and with the rise of the use of vernacular languages in education and scholarship, the German book trade increasingly catered to the domestic market, which was nonetheless very substantial indeed. Politics, religion and warfare often interfered with the free flow of books and the more liberal policies and practices in the Netherlands were often used to print and distribute controversial German texts.¹²

The development and international prominence of baroque and classical music in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave German music printers and publishers a chance to substantially expand their markets. Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf (1695–1777) and his successors improved music printing and their publishing business since Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, with a catalog containing the works of Bach, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Brahms and Wagner, became one of the world's largest and most influential music publishers, continuing until today.¹³

¹² Bruckner (1971).

¹³ Hase (1968).

With the rise of German literature and scholarship in the eighteenth century, many German booksellers developed important publishing programs. Authors such as Wieland, Klopstock, and especially Schiller and Goethe, were distributed and read throughout Europe in German as well as in translation and the publishers responded. Georg Joachim Göschen (1752–1828) established the company carrying his name in Leipzig in 1787, and he and his successors in the nineteenth century rode the literary wave with great success. Similarly, Johann Friedrich Cotta (1764–1832) developed the family's bookselling and publishing tradition, established in 1659, into a major national and international force. He published several major scholarly, literary and technical magazines, among which the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was prominent for more than a century. Cotta published major collected editions of Schiller and Goethe, and the company remained one of the leading publishers throughout the nineteenth century. A major international effort was launched by Christian Bernhard Tauchnitz (1760–1838) with the start of the publication of the *Library of British and American Authors* in 1841. Operating with the cooperation of British publishers, the Tauchnitz editions, published as inexpensive paperbacks, ultimately counted over five thousand volumes. The rise of British tourism in the nineteenth century contributed to its sales success. Tauchnitz and his successors also published German literary series.¹⁴

Although the international market for German literature remained consistent and strong in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, England and France, it was the United States of America that became the major German export market. Already in colonial times, there had been a strong German presence in Pennsylvania and New York with its own German-language printing press. But continuing emigration, accelerated in 1848 with the exile of numerous leading intellectuals, created a substantial demand for German books and periodicals. Hundreds of German-language newspapers were published in almost all American cities and numerous publishers in New York, Cincinnati and Chicago reprinted popular reading material to add to the many imports. In 1846, the Braunschweig firm of B. Westermann opened a branch in New York. It would have a long and successful life until World War II. Two of Westermann's former staff members, Ernest Steiger and Gustav E. Stechert, established their own firms publishing and distributing

¹⁴ Todd; Bowden (1988).

German books to numerous schools, libraries and bookstores throughout the country.¹⁵

German scholarship in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries became widely respected and German books and periodicals came into demand by scholars and libraries throughout the Western World. Classical studies, philosophy, history, and geography were among the major disciplines in which German scholars established new research parameters, which then became an international standard. Among the major publishers was Weidmann in Berlin. Founded in 1680, the firm's list evolved over time from literature to classical and historical scholarship. Weidmann was the proud publisher of many scholarly books and periodicals, and major publishing projects, such as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The new research also resulted in many large scale reference works, including the *Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by August Pauly and Georg Wissowa, which went through several editions; the major one was published by J.B. Metzler in Stuttgart between 1894 and 1980.¹⁶ Other leading scholarly and professional publishers were Justus Perthes (geography), Ch. Beck and Carl Heymann (law), Paul Parey (agriculture), Gustav Fischer (economics), Teubner (mathematics), F. Enke, J. Bergmann, Thieme, Urban & Schwarzenberg (medicine) and F. Bruckmann (art).

But it was German science and technology that ultimately became a dominant force worldwide. Fueled by growing industry and reorganized universities, research flourished, and each major discipline codified its research methods. New publication methods were required to help disseminate the rapidly increasing research results. A German model of science publishing emerged in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It replaced the decentralized system of university based publications and privately owned journals. The innovations came first in medicine and later in biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics and other disciplines. The new model consisted of several carefully layered and sometimes overlapping types of publication.

On the frontier of the new knowledge were research articles in increasingly specialized journals. Competing schools of thought often started their own such journals. The format of these scientific periodical articles, and the sequence in which the information was presented were, by this time, more or less codified. The existing older journals,

¹⁵ Cazden (1984); Lehmann-Haupt (1952).

¹⁶ An English edition is now being published by Brill in Leiden.

typically started and edited by prominent individual scientists, were often taken over by scientific societies. Production and distribution were mostly done by commercial printers, publishers and booksellers, who in many cases gained a financial interest in the enterprises.

Second, were series of critical and evaluative reviews, published annually or periodically with titles such as *Ergebnisse* (*Advances, Progress or Reviews*). Often edited by young and ambitious scientists, who often saw this task as a stepping stone to an improved academic career, the reviews, in turn, led to the publication of specialized monographs or treatises, often followed by advanced text books. In response to these centrifugal forces of specialization, there developed the increasing need for handbooks, compendia and encyclopedias, which summarized and integrated the new knowledge for practitioners in the field. Finally, specialized indexing and abstracting services subsequently provided bibliographical access to the literature.

Commercial publishers, sometimes in cooperation with scientific societies, began to make financial investments in these publications and often took the initiative when the market appeared ready. Professional editors of these publishing houses kept close contact with the up-and-coming researchers and had grasped the essence of new sub-specialties as they emerged. Competition among publishers was considerable, and new journals and series often battled for contributions and readership.

The international market for these periodicals, books and reference works grew rapidly in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. A renewal of higher education and the strengthening of research enterprises took place in all of Western Europe, and academic and industrial libraries became ready customers. But nowhere was the effect as great as in the United States of America. Higher education reform took place on a large scale after the end of the Civil War. For quite some years already, American graduate students had gone to German universities for graduate degrees, and their return to American academic institutions had a profound impact. Graduate education was organized on the model of the German research university. Grafted on top of a British model for undergraduate colleges, the universities soon became large and diverse. New universities were founded, older ones reformed, and with the availability of federal and state funds, augmented by a rapid increase in private philanthropy, the United States could now compete for the best teaching and research talent from Europe. And they did.

But it was also the library world that was influenced by German ideas and models. The great new public libraries in Boston and New York were developed by German-trained librarians, and all research libraries endeavored to emulate German university libraries such as those at the University of Göttingen. Libraries now needed to acquire not only the newly appearing books and journals, but also the past corpus of academic publications. German booksellers such as Otto Harrassowitz and Brockhaus took the challenge and developed long-term working relationships with American libraries. Leipzig bookseller Gustav Fock even established a branch in New York, as did the Dutch bookseller Martinus Nijhoff. The reputation of German as an essential scientific language was unassailable.¹⁷

World War I and its aftermath was a watershed for German science, scientists and science publishing. During the war several publishers were unable to continue and others suffered severe financial, as well as succession, problems. As a result there were many bankruptcies, mergers and acquisitions. Eventually, two commercial giants emerged – Springer Verlag in Berlin and Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft in Leipzig. Springer was founded by Julius Springer (1817–1906) in 1842 and continued after 1906 under the inspired leadership of the cousins Ferdinand and Julius Springer. Springer took over Beilstein's famous *Handbuch der organische Chemie* in 1916, and merged with medical publisher Bergmann in 1917. The firm of C.W. Kreidel was added in 1918, August Hirschwald in 1920 and in 1929 Springer acquired the list of the bankrupt F.C.W. Vogel Verlag. Springer also acquired a large international bookseller in Berlin and operated it under the name of Lange & Springer.¹⁸ Springer became a specialist in the creation of the so-called *Gesamtblätter*, comprehensive periodical publications which included all aspects of a particular field.

Springer's principal competitor, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, was founded in 1906 by Leo Jolowicz (1868–1941). Jolowicz was the owner of Gustav Fock in Leipzig, an international antiquarian book and periodical dealer. One of Fock's specialties was a reference and exchange system of academic dissertations. Among the acquisitions of Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft was the list of periodical publisher Wilhelm Engelmann in 1920. Jolowicz was joined in 1921 by his son-in-law Kurt Jacoby (1892–1968) as editor and the two developed the

¹⁷ Edelman/Tatum (1976).

¹⁸ Sarkowski (1996).

ever growing list, which now included several major multi-volume handbooks. Jolowicz's son Walter (1908–1997) took responsibility for the Gustav Fock operations.

While there were several other scientific publishers, such as Verlag Chemie, Walter de Gruyter, Thieme, Karger and Urban & Schwarzenberg, Springer and Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft increasingly dominated international German scientific publishing. The entrepreneurial approach, now practiced to perfection, identified emerging research specialties and new scientists and encouraged them to edit and write. In sharp contrast with the Anglo-American scientific publishing worlds, where voluntary editorial work through the established professional and scientific societies was still the accepted norm, Springer paid its journal and book editors, often by the page. As a result of these practices, the volume of publication increased dramatically. Ironically, this growth took place in the 1920's, while German science was suffering from the international boycott, led by the French after World War I, from reduced domestic funding, and from international research competition, especially from the United States. Nevertheless, the German share of the international library market grew disproportionately, especially after the 1929 financial crisis. American and European librarians protested loudly about the burgeoning growth of German periodical publishing and its impact on library budgets. As a result of these protests, Springer, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft and many other science publishers were forced to curtail their publishing programs.¹⁹

But perhaps the biggest impact on German scientific publishing was the gradual decline of German as the dominant international language of scholarship and science and the simultaneous rise of English to take its place.

During the Middle Ages and the early modern period, Latin had been the European common language for law, religion, diplomacy and the 'Respublica Litterarum', the commonwealth of learning. The rise of standardized national languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, combined with the growth of literacy and the spread of printing, slowly replaced Latin. Scholars such as Simon Stevin (1548–1620, Dutch), Phillipus Paracelsus (1493–1541, German), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642, Italian), Robert Boyle (1627–91, English) and

¹⁹ Edelman (1994).

René Descartes (1596–1650, French) wrote and published in the vernacular languages, although their reference editions and collected works were still translated into Latin for a wider European readership and academic approbation. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, Latin had disappeared. French, English and German emerged as the leading European scholarly languages, following the reputations of their research and publication capacities. Major bibliographic systems in those languages codified and strengthened their hold on the scholarly communities in each of their geographic domains: French for Southern Europe and Latin America, English for Great Britain and North America and German for Northern and Eastern Europe. The advance of industrial and academic research in Germany in the second part of the nineteenth century, established the German language and its publishing production as indispensable for scientific purposes. The first World War and its aftermath undermined the German reputation severely and the English language rose with the growth and success of the research production in the United States and England. It is perhaps ironic, that Hitler's successful efforts to eliminate the Jewish presence from Germany and its conquered countries, also accelerated the decline of the use of the German language. As many of the Jewish academic exiles eventually settled in England and the United States, they adapted and contributed to the already growing English-language prominence.

German trade publishing had also not fared well since the end of the first World War. Book production, at 35.000 in 1913, had dropped to 15.000 by 1918. Financial difficulties had forced many bankruptcies and mergers, while at the same time, many new publishers tried to establish themselves. In what is often nostalgically termed the 'gay twenties', the experience in Weimar Germany was far more complex. Economic woes in the aftermath of the war were considerable. The financial inflation, and ultimately deflation, caused havoc for industry, business and numerous individuals. Foundation and government grants to education, the arts and the sciences were seriously curtailed. Political polarization led to extremism on either side of the spectrum. While Expressionist and Dadaist literary and art forms flourished on the one hand, they constituted only a small part of the market. Most Germans satisfied their reading interests through popular magazines and books available through a multitude of book clubs, railroad shops and lending libraries. The leading literary publishers of the period were the pre-war companies of Kurt Wolff, Insel, S. Fischer, and Kiepenheuer.

Newly started were Ernst Rowohlt, Propyläen, and Malik. Among their famous authors were Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, Rainer Maria Rilke, Alfred Döblin, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Arnold Zweig, Gerhard Hauptmann, Leon Feuchtwanger, Bertolt Brecht and Stefan Zweig.

The mass production of magazines and popular books was in the hands of two conglomerates. Catering to the nationalistic market was Alfred Hugenberg, whose company operated some 600 regional newspapers and numerous magazines. Opposite to the Hugenberg empire on the political front was the firm of Ullstein. Its influence in newspapers and magazines was largely urban and much more cosmopolitan. Its book publishing arm included the best-selling authors Vicki Baum and Ludwig Wolff, whose books were first serialized in the various Ullstein magazines.

Towards the end of the decade, sales of books had declined. The financial crisis of 1929 also had a strong impact on the German market, which the publishers sought to counter with a deluge of cheap books. Fischer published an inexpensive edition of Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* in an unprecedented edition of one hundred and fifty thousand copies. When Mann received the Nobel prize shortly afterward, sales shot up to almost a million copies. Others followed suit. The recently merged Munich publishers, Langen and Müller, catered to the growing market for national literature and produced fifty thousand copies of an edition of the fairy tales of Hans Grimm. One of the leading houses of the earlier two decades, Kurt Wolff, did not survive the economic problems. Wolff had heavily invested in an international art publishing house in Italy and ultimately had to sell off much of his business. He withdrew from the publishing scene in 1930. Fischer, Kiepenheuer and others took over Wolff's major authors.²⁰

*German Publishers in Exile*²¹

When Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist Party took over the German government in January 1933, burned the Reichstag in February and publicly burned thousands of books on May 10th, the effect on the country was immediate. Those individuals, who were actively engaged in socialist and communist politics knew they were in danger.

²⁰ Edelman (2006 a).

²¹ Unless noted otherwise, much of the information in this chapter has been derived from Halfmann (1969) and Maas (1976).

The same applied to numerous German intellectuals – writers, artists, scholars and scientists – who had staked out progressive social and political positions during the Weimar Republic. Anticipating the difficulties, some prominent public figures, such as Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, were conveniently out of the country at the time and made no efforts to return on short notice. But most others concerned faced immediate and difficult dilemmas. Several fled abroad to protect their safety, but most others decided to wait and see what would happen, hoping perhaps that Hitler's government would be short-lived.

In almost all aspects of literary, artistic, scholarly and scientific public life in Germany during the Weimar period, the presence of those of Jewish ancestry had been substantial. So it was in the world of publishing and bookselling. After all, anti-semitic government regulations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had restricted the professional fields in which Jews were allowed to practice. And while those restrictions were no longer in place in the twentieth century, previous educational and career choices often continued in Jewish families, whether they had stopped practicing their religion or converted to Christian denominations or not.

Among the first publishers to decide to leave was Wieland Herzfelde (1896–1988), the founder of Malik Verlag in Berlin. Malik's provocative socialist political and artistic activism had already caused legal problems during the Weimar years for the owner, his artist brother Helmut (John Heartland), and the famous artist Georg Grosz. Before the Hitler coup, Herzfelde had already decided to keep some of his funds abroad. In February 1933 he fled to Prague with his family, but without most of his stock, which was quickly confiscated and partly destroyed by the Nazis. Czechoslovakia became the first exile destination for many Germans. There were no visa requirements for Germans and in the cultural world of Prague, the German language was still prominent. Prague was also the initial destination of the philosopher Hannah Arendt and the music conductor Bruno Walter. With very few financial resources at hand, Herzfelde promptly started a new literary magazine *Neue Deutsche Blätter* (1933–1935) and published books by Ilja Ehrenburg, Oskar Maria Graf and Bertolt Brecht. Malik Verlag became the first German exile publisher. Another German publisher, E. Prager, moved his business from Leipzig to Bratislava. But several other Czechoslovak publishers, who already were publishing in German now added banned writers to their list. Among them were Julius Kitzler Verlag, Michael Kisch Verlag and Orbis Verlag. Until 1938, when Hitler invaded the country, Czechoslovakia remained an

important market for German books. Herzfelde once again escaped the Nazis and was able to move in time to London, from where he continued his Malik publishing program.

Another early exile was Wilhelm Reich. Reich (1897–1957) was an Austrian psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, whose published views on adolescent sexuality caused considerable professional and public controversy. He moved with his family from Vienna to Berlin in 1930. He joined the Communist Party and founded his own publishing company, Verlag für Sexualpolitik (Sexpol) in 1932. When Hitler came into power he fled to Denmark, moved to Sweden a year later and settled in Norway in 1934, where he re-established his Institut für Sexualökonomische Lebensforschung. He continued his active writing and publishing role in Scandinavia, where his Sexpol Verlag published his major work *Die Bione. Zur Entstehen des vegetativen Lebens* in 1938. The Norwegian officials, however, objected to his sexual and political views and he left for the United States in 1939 when he still had a chance to do so. In that year, one of the last publications of his Sexpol Verlag was published in the Netherlands, where he had a considerable following. He settled in Maine, but controversies around his experiments and publications continued. In 1956 Reich was arrested by the F.B.I., and was convicted to a two-year jail term. He died in jail in 1957.²²

Many other exiles moved to France. Two German political activists made Paris their new headquarters. Willi Münzenberg (1889–1940) had been the leading propagandist for the German Communist Party (D.K.P.). He had organized several organizations fronting for the Communist Party and settled in Paris, from where he continued his many activities. One of these was the establishment of an exile publishing company Editions du Carrefour, which published two so-called Brown books, on Nazi Germany and the Reichstag fire. Soon a list of German literature was added. Among its authors were Bertolt Brecht, Anna Seghers and Egon Kisch. Leopold Schwarzschild had been the editor of the independent political journal *Tage Buch* in Berlin. He too moved to Paris and began to issue his *Neue Tage Buch* in July 1933, with financial support from private sources from the Netherlands. It became an important source of news for the exile community. Paris soon developed as a major German exile center. It supported the *Pariser Tageblatt* and several other smaller presses.

²² Corrington (2003).

Switzerland remained neutral. Its border was not as open as many other European countries, however. Emil Oprecht (1895–1952), a Swiss socialist publisher and bookseller in Zürich, took it upon himself to become one of the leading publishers of exiled German writers. His firms Oprecht und Helbling and Europa Verlag ultimately published over a hundred authors whose works were banned in Germany. Among them were Hans Habe, Georg Kaiser, Else Laske-Schüler and Emil Ludwig. He also published the literary journal *Mass und Wert*, edited by Thomas Mann.

Switzerland ultimately also became the new home of the Jewish S. Karger Verlag from Leipzig. This major medical publisher, under the management of the owner's son Heinz Karger, had looked into possibilities of relocating to the Netherlands and Czechoslovakia. But Karger's half-brother Fritz was on the medical faculty of the University of Basel, so in 1937 Karger moved the company surreptitiously to Basel. The Leipzig stock was confiscated by the Nazis, but ultimately half of it was released. Cut off from its German-language authors, Karger published its first international journal *Cardiologia* in 1937. The titles of their other journals were changed from German into Latin.²³ Of the many individual professionals from the book world who fled to Switzerland, we should mention Jan Tschichold (1902–1974). Born in Leipzig, Tschichold established himself as a major typographer and book designer at a young age. Suspected of communist associations, he was arrested in 1933 but released shortly afterward. He made his way to Switzerland, from where he continued his illustrious career, which included a long-time role as designer for Penguin books. Famous Frankfurt booksellers Leo and Edwin Baer, owners of Joseph Baer, managed to move their antiquarian stock to Switzerland, leaving their restructured bookstore, and their recently pensioned partner Moriz Sondheim behind, where it soon failed.²⁴

Gottfried Bermann-Fischer, after the death of his father-in-law Samuel Fischer in 1934, was now the owner of Fischer Verlag. He also tried to move to Switzerland, but did not succeed in getting the proper permits to settle there. Remarkably enough, the Nazis allowed Fischer Verlag, which had a large number of prominent authors on its list, to continue to operate after their political take-over. The company's strong

²³ Schmeck (1990).

²⁴ See Martinus Nijhoff profile for a follow-up. The Baer brothers moved their business to London after 1945.

international reputation probably kept the Nazis from moving too fast. However, Bermann-Fischer knew that the end was in sight, and after efforts to move to England and Switzerland failed, he managed to negotiate with the government a deal under which he was allowed to move the inventory of banned books, 780.000 volumes, to Austria, while turning over the management of the Leipzig company to their non-Jewish employee, Peter Suhrkamp. Bermann-Fischer operated his newly founded exile publishing company in Austria and in the next two years some twenty new books were published, while the back-list provided a continuing income. Other Austrian publishers also published exiled authors. Prominent among them were Phaidon, Paul Zsolnay, Herbert Reichner, Löwit, Tal & Co., Pustet and Saturn Verlag. The latter was owned by the original founder of Phaidon Verlag, Frederick Ungar. But the exile programs were cut short after Germany absorbed Austria in 1938. Bermann-Fischer fled to Sweden, where he re-started his company with the help of the Swedish publisher, Bonnier. His Vienna stock was confiscated. The owners of Phaidon Verlag, Bela Horovitz and Ludwig Goldschneider, were able to re-settle in London with support from the publisher Stanley Unwin. Paul Zsolnay went into exile to London, leaving his company in the hands of non-Jewish employees,²⁵ while Ungar moved to New York where he ultimately started a new company under his own name.²⁶ The owner of the small Jewish publishing house Löwit, Max Meyer Praeger, did not survive his arrest and subsequent imprisonment by the Germans in 1938. His son, Frederick Praeger was able to flee to the United States, where he ultimately established his own international publishing company.²⁷

Jews were also prominent participants in the antiquarian book trade, by tradition a very international business. Several of them, Ludwig Rosenthal, Gustav Fock, Martin Breslauer and Paul Gottschalk, were able to transfer at least part of their book and periodical stock, often surreptitiously, to other countries, where they either had established branches or were helped by colleagues. Many were able to travel internationally, at least for some time, before the Nazi financial and personal noose narrowed on them as well. Wilhelm Junk, prominent antiquarian book dealer and publisher in Berlin, moved to the Netherlands in 1934 with his family and voluminous stock and

²⁵ Hall (1994).

²⁶ Cazden (1970).

²⁷ Edelman (2005).

re-established himself there as an international science publisher. His activities are reported later in this book.

Not surprisingly, several prominent German communists moved to the Soviet Union. The newly established and heavily subsidized Jourgaz Verlag in Moscow published the political and literary journal *Das Wort*, which had a considerable European distribution. Other journals published in Moscow were *Internationalen Literatur* and the *Deutsche Zentral Zeitung*. Three other companies were also active in the Soviet exile market: the Verlagsgenossenschaft Ausländischer Arbeiter in der U.S.S.R., the Verlag für Fremdsprachige Literatur and the Deutsche Staatsverlag, which proceeded to publish Heinrich Mann's *Lidice* in an edition of fifty thousand copies.

But while Czechoslovakia, France, Austria, Switzerland and to a lesser extent Turkey and Palestine became important early centers of German intellectual life in exile, it was the Netherlands that would become the major German-language publishing center for the exile communities.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING IN THE NETHERLANDS

Exile Publishing in the Netherlands

Some thirty thousand German exiles entered the Netherlands between 1933 and 1940. An estimated five hundred of these were socialist and communist party officials, labor leaders and other political exiles. The others fled Germany because they were or were considered to be Jewish. This included a sizable number of Eastern Europeans, who had fled to Germany before and were now considered stateless or unwelcome. The Dutch government initially took a rather liberal position with regard to the German exiles. There were no visa requirements. Those who asked, were provided with political asylum, but with the stipulation that they refrain from political activity. But as the influx of political and Jewish exiles grew, so did the government efforts to stem the tide. Border security increased, combined with stricter control of labor permits.

Several of the political exiles used Amsterdam as the city from which they planned to continue their activities. The Sozialistischen Jugend-Internationale, moved its headquarters from Berlin to Amsterdam and from there it continued its publication *Internationale Sozialistische Jugendkorrespondenz*. Its editor was Erich Ollenhauer (1901–1963). Ollenhauer had moved to Prague in 1933, and from there he directed many of the German Socialist Party (S.P.D.) activities. After the war, Ollenhauer would play a major role in German politics.

The Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation also used Amsterdam as its base to continue publication of *Die Internationale. Anarchosyndikalistisches Organ*, which had been published in Berlin since 1927. The Internationale Transportarbeiter-Föderation, set up headquarters in Amsterdam. Under the editorship of prominent labor leader Walter Auerbach (1905–1975), it began publishing *Hakenkreuz über Deutschland*. It was an ambitious anti-Nazi project and it appeared in separate German, English, French, Dutch, Spanish and Swedish editions. Its title later changed to *Faschismus*. Auerbach moved to London in 1939 from where the publication was continued until the end of the war.



Fig. 1.

Under the auspices of the Dutch socialist opposition party S.D.A.P., a German-language weekly newspaper, *Freie Presse. Wochenblatt für Geistige und Politische Freiheit* began publishing in July 1933. The presses of the Amsterdam socialist publishing house, Arbeiderspers, were used for the purpose. Editors were Helmut Kern, Alfred Mozer, Emil Gross and Franz Vogt. Its publication lasted until January, 1934, when it was discontinued after the intervention of Johan Willem Alberda (1877–1957), the political leader of the socialists in the Dutch parliament, who feared political repercussions from the Dutch government if anti-Nazi publications were written by German exiles.¹

The German government did protest on several occasions, and the Dutch government listened and often acted. In 1934, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations was founded in exile

¹ Langkau-Alex (1982).

and their initial congress was held in Amsterdam. Among the organizers was a young German activist, Herbert Frahm, who had already fled from Germany to Norway, where he lived under the assumed name of Willy Brandt. Brandt (1913–1992), who later became a leading post-war German politician, was on the board and present in Amsterdam when the Dutch police arrested all the participants. They were promptly expelled; the Germans to Germany, the rest, including Brandt, whose German identity was not recognized, to Belgium, from where he made his way back to Oslo.

Another incident, provoked by German protests involved a long-established Amsterdam trade publisher P.N. van Kampen in 1934. Van Kampen published a scathing political novel in the German language, *Das Vaterland* by the German journalist, novelist and playwright, Heinz Liepmann (1905–1966). Liepmann, who was Jewish and had strong left-wing convictions, had left Germany for Paris early in 1933, where he wrote this novel. Van Kampen had published a Dutch translation of one of Liepmann's earlier novels in 1929. The German government filed a strong protest with the Dutch authorities, because of a paragraph containing critical remarks about Germany's President Hindenburg. The book was confiscated by the Dutch police and Liepmann was arrested when he visited the Netherlands later in that year to negotiate the translation rights. He was convicted in a Dutch court, but soon released after strong protests from the Dutch literary community, among which was the well-known critic Menno ter Braak. However, Liepmann was then expelled to Belgium, from where he made his way to London. Van Kampen subsequently issued a second edition of *Das Vaterland*, from which the pertinent paragraph was removed. A Dutch translation was issued by Arbeiderspers in Amsterdam, with a note where the forced excision had taken place.² But the Dutch government action had a chilling effect, and P.N. van Kampen ceased publishing German exiles. However, despite these government restrictions, Leopold Schwarzschild, the editor of the exile newspaper *Neue Tage Buch*, which was founded in Paris in July 1933 with private financial backing from the Jewish Amsterdam lawyer, Johannes S.C. Warendorf, had no hesitation in opening up an editorial office for the newspaper in Amsterdam.

² Schilt (1995).

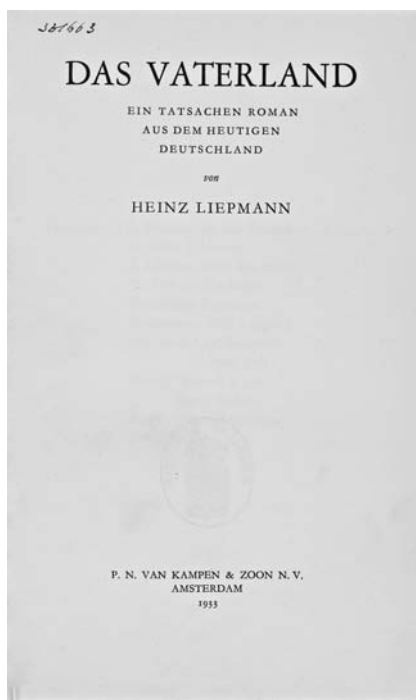


Fig. 2.

There were religious activists, as well, among the anti-Nazi refugees. Friedrich Muckermann (1883–1946), a Jesuit priest, and a prominent German Catholic leader, moved just across the border to the city of Oldenzaal, from where he published the exile monthly *Der deutsche Weg. Organ für die deutschsprechende Katholiken Hollands*.

But, of course, the largest number of exiles were Jewish Germans. Among the first groups fleeing to the Netherlands were those whose political and literary activities had put them on the Nazi enemy list. As the anti-Jewish measures increased in Germany, they were followed by thousands of exiles from all walks of life. Soon, several organizations were founded in the Netherlands to aid the often penniless refugees, while others made it their task to bring the message about the plight of the Jews to the world. One of these was Die Jüdische Informations-Zentrale, with headquarters in Amsterdam. Its news releases and other communications were published in German and English. The office was moved to London in 1938, from where it continued its activities until the end of the war.

Among the Jewish exiles in the Netherlands were scholars, poets, novelists, playwrights and essayists as well as printers, publishers and booksellers. Their books and periodicals were burned and banned in Germany and they were seeking ways of continuing their creative activities as well as trying to provide an income. Two Dutch trade publishers, independent from each other, decided to enter the German-language publishing market. Their motivations were partially idealistic and partially opportunistic. Amsterdam publishers Querido and Allert de Lange set up German-language departments to acquire, publish and market books that were no longer allowed to be published in Germany. Leiden publisher Sijthoff followed suit, while several other Dutch publishers made initial, but ultimately unsuccessful efforts.

Considering the European diaspora of exiled writers, there were initially plenty of manuscripts available for publication, while the market looked promising. Although the books published by both Querido and Allert de Lange were officially prohibited by the Nazis, many of their books did find their way into Germany through various sales channels. Sijthoff's list was never banned from Germany, but increasing official currency obstacles made doing business there difficult.

After the Nazi take-over of Austria in 1938, and the subsequent occupation of Czechoslovakia, the European market for German-language books was shrinking rapidly. Efforts to reach the German-speaking market in the United States were disappointing, to say the least. As financial pressures increased some of the Dutch exile publishers, together with the exiled Bermann-Fischer in Stockholm, consolidated their marketing efforts, but the problems mounted. The German exile press in the Netherlands came to an immediate and complete end when the German army occupied the country in May 1940.

But the combined efforts of exile publishers in the Netherlands and other European countries had kept many Jewish German authors active and employed for a long time and the record of their accomplishments is impressive. While some writers were ultimately able to escape to England, the United States and several Latin American countries, their voices were effectively silenced, unless they were able to make the language shift to English. A considerable number of exiled Jewish scholars, especially in the sciences, were able to do that and they have made important contributions in their new environments.

During the German occupation, several efforts were made to influence German soldiers in the Netherlands and in Germany. Of special note is the publication of a German-language newspaper *Das Freie*

Wort in Kampen in 1943. A young German journalist, serving in the army, was disillusioned with national socialism. He developed contacts with the Dutch underground and this led to the idea to publish an opposition newspaper for distribution in Germany. But when he crossed the border with copies of the first issue, he was arrested and subsequently executed. No more issues were published.³

Cooperation between German exiles and Dutch anti-fascists, led to the founding of two organizations concerned with future life in Germany. The Hollandgruppe Freies Deutschland published an occasional German-language newsletter from January 1944 until May 1945 and so did the Interessengemeinschaft anti-faschistischer Deutscher.

In early 1945, long-term underground journalists A.J. Landaal and J. van Reinbach started a German-language news bulletin *Freie Presse*, which was mailed to addresses where German soldiers were quartered as well as put inside parked German vehicles. It was intended to convince the soldiers of the futility of their campaign. In similar fashion, the underground newspaper *Het Vrije Volk* issued *Soldatenpost für Holland* in Haarlem in April 1945, a few weeks before the German forces capitulated.

Querido Verlag

In April 1933, Fritz Helmut Landshoff, co-owner and managing director of the Gustav Kiepenheuer publishing house in Potsdam, Germany, took the overnight train to Amsterdam. He had met during the day with Nico Rost, a Dutch journalist and translator of several Kiepenheuer authors. Rost relayed to him the interest of the Dutch trade publisher Em. Querido in Amsterdam in establishing a department devoted to publishing German authors, who could no longer be published in Germany. Landshoff was desperately interested in such a proposal.⁴

Ever since the Nazi take-over of the German government in January 1933, it had become clear that there was no future for the Kiepenheuer publishing program, which featured many prominent German writers, whose names appeared on the banned book list. Many of these were Jewish, as was Landshoff himself as well as his immediate editorial associates, Hermann Kesten and Walter Landauer. The latter two had already left the country, but Landshoff lingered in Berlin, in order to

³ Winkel (1954) p. 118.

⁴ Much of the information in this profile, unless otherwise noted, has been derived from Landshoff (1991); Walter (1997); Sötteman (1990).

help the non-Jewish co-owner Gustav Kiepenheuer and the firm's creditors to properly liquidate the company. Landshoff was also in personal danger. His home had already been visited by the Nazis and he was staying in different places with various friends.

Gustav Kiepenheuer had founded his publishing company in Weimar in 1909. Among the early authors were novelists Georg Kaiser and Ernst Toller. The company moved to Potsdam in 1919, while the list grew to include Bertolt Brecht, Emil Ludwig, Arnold Zweig and German translations of Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair and Robert Louis Stevenson. Like so many publishing houses at the time there were increasing cash-flow problems in the early 1920's during the period of heavy monetary inflation. As a result, several authors left for more affluent competitors. In 1926 Kiepenheuer placed an advertisement in the book trade journal *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel* for a partner who could invest 60.000 to 100.000 Mark in the company. Fritz Landshoff applied. He raised money from family and friends, including his former school friend and department store owner Wilfried Israel, and he joined in January 1927 as partner and co-director. Fritz Helmut Landshoff (1901–1988) was born in Berlin. In 1925 he had become production manager of the Kunstverlag E.A. Seemann (Dr. Gustav Kirstein) in Leipzig, while completing his dissertation on Theodor Fontane in 1926. He was ready for a new challenge and the Kiepenheuer opportunity came at the right time.

Soon afterward Hermann Kesten (1900–1996), budding novelist and playwright, and fellow-student from Frankfurt was appointed editor. Kesten thus found a publisher as well as a constant source of income to continue his literary production. The next appointment was Walter Landauer (1902–1945), a gymnasium friend of Landshoff from Berlin. Landauer had a law degree and professional experience in a small publishing company 'Die Schmiede', but was ready to move on. He became business manager. Although Kiepenheuer was twenty years older than his partners, there was an excellent working relationship among them.

With this renewed synergy, Kiepenheuer was able to bring back a number of its important authors, such as Feuchtwanger, Bertolt Brecht and Arnold Zweig, and expand the list with a number of established authors, many of whom were now abandoning the Kurt Wolff Verlag, which was declining because of financial losses.⁵ Among these were

⁵ Edelman (2006 a).

Heinrich Mann, Gottfried Benn, Franz Kafka, Georg Kaiser and Ernst Toller. But he also attracted new authors, such as Anna Seghers, Joseph Roth, Gustav Regler and, of course, their colleague Hermann Kesten. Translations from the French were introduced, notably Jean Giraudoux, Julien Green and Jean Cocteau. These additions made Kiepenheuer the most avant-garde of the German literary publishers.⁶ Despite these efforts, financial problems persisted and new investments were needed. Richard Einstein, a cousin of Albert Einstein, was willing to provide 100,000 Mark to bolster the program.

Financial relief also came with the introduction of low-priced mass-market editions of popular authors. The G. Fischer Verlag issued such an edition of Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* in 1929, which sold over a million copies. Kiepenheuer followed with best-selling editions of Zweig and Feuchtwanger. In 1932 Kiepenheuer produced new editions of Marx's *Das Kapital* and the long-awaited *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse* by Freud. They turned out to be the last two Kiepenheuer books of that era. The Nazis closed in and it soon became apparent that more than half of the list consisted of books that could no longer be sold. Liquidation was the only resolution.

It is not certain, what moved Emanuel Querido to initiate the discussions with Landshoff. His company had published Dutch translations of several prominent Kiepenheuer authors, such as Lion Feuchtwanger, Leonard Frank and Arnold Zweig. Moreover, Querido himself was a staunch anti-fascist. And plans for such a venture were already actively being discussed elsewhere in Amsterdam. Georg Hermann, a German novelist, had moved to the Netherlands in March 1933 and had engaged Dutch journalist Siegfried van Praag and his wife Hilda to find a publisher for his finished novel which he had carried with him. It was Allert de Lange, an established Amsterdam trade publisher, who first went into the German exile publishing business, and who eventually would employ two of Landshoff's former Kiepenheuer colleagues and close friends, Hermann Kesten and Landauer.⁷ But it didn't take much time for Querido to decide that also opening up a German department was the right thing to do for him.

Emanuel Querido (1871–1943) had started his bookselling business in Amsterdam in 1898. His family was of Portuguese Jewish heritage

⁶ Funke (1999).

⁷ See Allert de Lange profile in this book.

and had lived in the Netherlands since the early seventeenth century. Querido's early working years were spent in the diamond industry following in his father's footsteps. But both he and his younger brother Israel (1872–1932) chose different careers. While Israel soon became successful as a journalist and a writer, Emanuel found his calling when he went to work for an Amsterdam bookseller. Soon afterward he opened his own store in 1898. Within a few years he also started to publish and his first publications demonstrated his strong socialist leanings. Yearning for the countryside, he moved away from Amsterdam to continue the business as a mail-order bookstore, but it failed in 1913. His reputation, however, was well-established and, after a short, and apparently unsatisfactory, stint as a book-buyer at the newly opened Amsterdam department store De Bijenkorf, he was able to start his own publishing company in 1915, with a fifty percent share from the trade house of van Holkema & Warendorf.⁸ The old and the new companies shared a building on the picturesque Keizersgracht in Amsterdam.

From the start Querido was assisted by a remarkable and talented young woman, Alice van Nahuys (1896–1967). Daughter of Dutch parents, a Jewish mother and a naval officer, she had lived in Belgium for a few years before returning to the Netherlands as a war refugee in 1914. She met Querido when she worked in an Amsterdam bookstore and visited De Bijenkorf where Querido then worked. A close professional, as well as an intimate personal, relationship developed despite the considerable age difference, especially after Alice moved in with the Querido family in the suburban village of Laren. Also rooming with them was Frederic von Eugen (1897–1989), a peripatetic Dutch businessman, who had befriended Querido and would later become his sales manager.⁹

Over the years, Querido built a list of considerable political and literary reputation. He was committed to book series on a variety of topics, including literature. His list of prominent Dutch authors included Albert Verweij, Lodewijk van Deijssel, Herman Heijermans, A.M. de Jong, Victor van Vriesland, and Carry van Bruggen. The Dutch socialist leader P.J. Troelstra published his memoirs with Querido as well.

⁸ Halbertsma (1998).

⁹ Fred von Eugen. Interview by A.L. Bauminger. Jerusalem, November 22, 1977. Unpublished typescript von Eugen (2006).

Translations of important foreign authors also became a staple of the Querido list. Included were Arthur Schnitzler, translated by the multi-lingual Alice van Nahuys, and Lion Feuchtwanger, whose acclaimed novel *Der Jud Süß* was translated by van Vriesland.

Querido himself, under the pseudonym of Joost Mendes, wrote and published over a twenty year period a multi-volume historical novel *Het Geslacht der Santeljano's*, which went through three editions. It was a creative and therapeutic project, because Querido, according to his son, suffered from a lack of self-esteem having grown up in the shadow of his younger, but quite famous brother Israel.¹⁰ He always felt that he needed to prove his worth and he set very high expectations for himself and his immediate environment. He had a deep sense of loyalty to those close to him, but could be vindictive and rude to those who crossed him. Querido was an active, gregarious and charming person and a convincing salesman for his own books, but on a personal level would often withdraw, even from his own family.

In Amsterdam, Landshoff met with Emanuel Querido and his protégé Alice van Nahuys, who had become co-director in 1930 as well as a stockholder. Despite his erudition, Querido did not speak German and most of the negotiations were made through Alice van Nahuys, who was fluent in German, French and English. There was strong mutual interest, however, and very soon an agreement was reached. On June 1st, 1933 the new firm, Querido Verlag, was officially established. With a starting capital of 15,000 Dutch guilders, Landshoff and Em. Querido each participated for fifty percent. Querido's share was financed by the parent company van Holkema & Warendorf. Landshoff and van Nahuys were to be the directors. Landshoff, who had no money of his own, was able to raise his share through the help of his old friend Wilfried Israel, who had also supported the previous Kiepenheuer venture, and an Amsterdam branch of a German bank in which his uncle had shares.

Even before the contract was signed, Landshoff embarked on a trip to France and Switzerland to visit German literary exiles, many of whom were Kiepenheuer authors. He was well received and succeeded in signing up enough authors to fulfill the goal of publishing at least six books in the fall of 1933. One of his early successes was to get a commitment from Lion Feuchtwanger, who had formerly published

¹⁰ Querido (1955).

with Ullstein, to bring out a complete edition of all his novels.¹¹ Feuchtwanger (1884–1958), pseudonym of J.L. Wetchek, grew up in a Jewish household in Munich. His first major literary success was the novel *Jud Süß* in 1925. Querido reprinted his novel *Der jüdische Krieg* which had appeared in 1932 by Ullstein and issued a new one, *Die Geschwister Oppenheim* as well. Feuchtwanger and his wife took refuge in Southern France after 1933, in the same town where Thomas Mann and others came to live.

That first year, the Querido Verlag's list contained several other literary luminaries as well. Heinrich Mann (1871–1950), the older brother of Thomas Mann and Kiepenheuer author, was among the most popular German writers after the first World War. His strong anti-fascist views were well-known and he went into exile early on. Mann's Querido book, *Der Hass*, was a polemical view of contemporary Germany, and its publication immediately caused a major stir in German and Dutch political circles.

Anna Seghers (1900–1983), pseudonym of Netty Radvány-Reiling, grew up in a cultured Jewish family in Germany. She wrote her doctoral dissertation in Heidelberg on Jewish representations in the works of Rembrandt. An avowed communist, her writings were quickly forbidden in Germany and she went into exile in France. Her Querido novel, *Der Kopflohn*, was the beginning of a prominent literary career in exile.

Alfred Döblin (1887–1968) was a widely published Jewish expressionist novelist and essayist. His *Jüdische Erneuerung*, published by Querido was a contemporary view of Jewish history.

Arnold Zweig (1887–1968) was born in Poland. An early Zionist, Zweig became editor of the *Jüdische Rundschau* in Berlin. His successful *Novellen um Claudia*, had been published by Kiepenheuer in 1930. He went into exile in Palestine. His Querido publication was a book of short stories under the title *Spielzeug der Zeit*.

Ernst Toller (1893–1939) was a close personal friend of Landshoff's. A prominent socialist politician after the first World War and a successful playwright, he spent five years in jail for his political activities

¹¹ Fred von Eugen, sales manager for Querido at the time, relates that he visited Ullstein in Berlin in 1933. At the suggestion of Feuchtwanger, 'wagon loads' of banned books were shipped to Amsterdam where they were sold on the remainder market. (von Eugen, op. cit. p. 20). The story remains unverified. We do know that Martinus Nijhoff took over an Ullstein book in such a fashion. See Martinus Nijhoff profile in this book.

between 1919 and 1924. His memoir *Eine Jugend in Deutschland* was on the 1933 Querido list.

The sudden transition from Kiepenheuer to Querido was illustrated by the publication of Gustav Regler's new novel *Der verlorene Sohn*. Regler (1898–1963) was a journalist and novelist with strong communist views. His book had already been set in type for Kiepenheuer by Thieme in Nijmegen when it became impossible to issue it in Germany. Querido bought the printed sheets and released the two thousand copies with a new title page.

From the start, Landshoff, with the encouragement of Querido, paid much attention to the physical appearance of the books. Among the exiled designers who contributed were Georg Salter (1897–1967), who had worked for Kiepenheuer before. He left for New York in 1934, where he continued his splendid artistic career.¹² Landshoff also used two other designers, Paul Urban, who later went to Switzerland and the U.S.S.R., and Henri Friedländer.¹³ Most of the printing was done by Thieme in Nijmegen. Perhaps, because of the close proximity to the German border, Thieme had gained an excellent reputation for typesetting in German.

During his visit to Paris in May 1933, Landshoff had also met with Klaus Mann (1906–49), son of Thomas Mann and an established novelist in his own right. Mann was contemplating launching an international literary journal in the German language, with the financial encouragement of a young Swiss writer Annemarie Schwarzenbach and her family. Landshoff suggested that Querido become the publisher. Mann was considering his options and talked to several potential publishers, including the Amsterdam publisher Allert de Lange, who had also started a German-language department. However, after Landshoff reviewed the proposal with his Amsterdam colleagues, Mann agreed to take the editorship of the new magazine *Die Sammlung. Literarische Monatschrift*.

Klaus Mann subsequently moved to Amsterdam where he roomed for a while with Landshoff. The magazine was published under the international patronage of Andre Gide, Aldous Huxley and Heinrich Mann.¹⁴ Schwarzenbach did provide funds, which were used for

¹² Hansen (2005).

¹³ Löb (1995).

¹⁴ Gutsche (1974).

author's compensation. When the first issue appeared in September 1933, it caused major political waves. The German government officially banned the journal. The announcement in the *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel* threatened action against the publishers of the contributors to the magazine. The response was immediate. Samuel Fischer and his son-in-law Gottfried Bermann-Fischer, owners of the renowned Fischer Verlag, were still in business despite Nazi threats and were desperate not to create any adverse situations. They urged some of their prominent authors, notably Alfred Döblin, René Schickele and Thomas Mann, to publicly distance themselves from the magazine, out of fear that they would be identified as political exiles and thus destroy the German market value of their books.¹⁵ Similar actions were taken by Insel Verlag, which published Zweig and Rowohlt Verlag, which had Robert Musil on their list. The authors responded by renouncing their ties with the magazine, through telegrams, which were acknowledged in the *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*.¹⁶ The actions somewhat isolated Klaus Mann and his political friends. His father's rebuke, moreover, was personally painful. But the troubles were not over. After the conservative political revolution in Vienna in February 1934, when the social democrats were outlawed, *Die Sammlung* was officially banned. Fearful of further retribution against his complete list, Landshoff reneged on a contract with the outspoken novelist Oskar Maria Graf, whose forthcoming book he deemed too risky in Austria.

The affair also put Landshoff on notice that he was walking a dangerous tightrope in the politically conservative Netherlands. Already concerned about the anti-German sentiments expressed by Heinrich Mann in his latest book *Der Hass*, Landshoff feared the fate of the political novel by Heinz Liepmann, *Das Vaterland*, published by P.N. van Kampen in Amsterdam in December 1933. After German complaints, the book was confiscated by the Dutch authorities. Liepmann (1905–1966), a prominent German playwright and novelist in exile in the Netherlands, was arrested and deported to Belgium. Heinrich Mann's second book of essays, *Es kommt der Tag*, equally critical of Germany, was already in press. Landshoff, with the agreement of the author and the help of Thomas Mann, succeeded in

¹⁵ Dirschauer (1973) p. 48.

¹⁶ Walter (1978) vol 4, pp. 424–441.

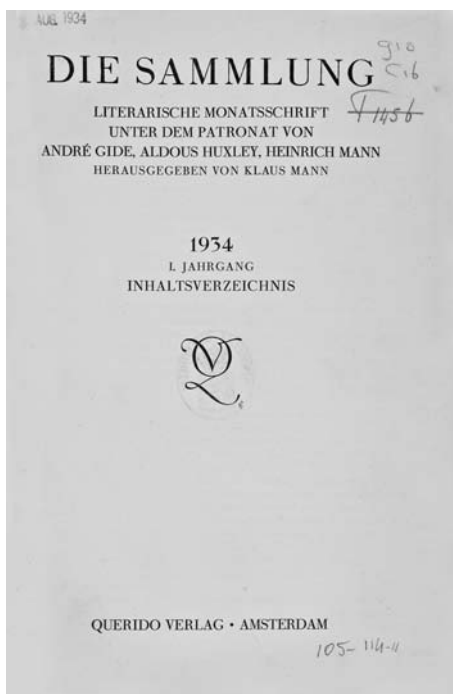


Fig. 3.

convincing his Swiss publishing colleague, Emil Oprecht, to issue the book there. To counter more potential criticism, Landshoff also urged Klaus Mann to produce an issue of the magazine devoted to Dutch writers, which appeared in the spring of 1934. By that time the Netherlands had taken a somewhat more independent position with regard to official German complaints.

But despite the high level of its intellectual content and its international acclaim, *Die Sammlung* was a commercial failure. Major efforts to boost the number of subscriptions did not succeed and the publication of the magazine was discontinued in 1935, after the completion of two volumes. Its demise caused serious financial difficulties for the fledgling Querido publishing program. Moreover its strident political tone had alienated several potential authors.

¹⁷ After the war, Landshoff discovered that the library had acquired a complete set of the Querido publications through a bookseller in Sweden.

Not surprisingly, the German market was closed to the Querido Verlag publications. Actually, out of principle, Landshoff refused to submit deposit copies to the German National Library in Leipzig.¹⁷ All sales efforts, therefore, were directed to establish agencies in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and the other European countries, as well as Palestine, the United States and South America. Landshoff appointed former German bookseller Hermann Igersheimer as sales representative for the Netherlands and Belgium. Dutch booksellers were generally quite responsive, although some complained vehemently about receiving invoices in German from an Amsterdam firm. Former Kiepenheuer staff member Friedrich Sussmann, who now resided in Prague, covered the other European German-speaking countries. Some twelve distribution centers were established in various European countries, Palestine and the Americas. Soon however, logistical and financial obstacles occurred, such as currency transfer restrictions. Distribution became a constant cause of concern.

Book sales, however, were altogether better than periodical subscriptions. The initial estimates of print runs of three thousand copies, turned out to be too conservative. Heinrich Mann's book, *Die Hass* sold over seven thousand copies, while Feuchtwanger's, *Die Geschwister Oppenheim* sold twenty-five thousand copies. Sales in the United States, however, were disappointing. Despite the large number of German readers, the appointed representative, the Dutch book importer in New York, D.J. van Riemsdijk, was apparently unable to reach them.

Landshoff, however, succeeded in acquiring the necessary help in his office in Amsterdam. He hired Jetty Weintraub, a refugee from Hanover, as secretary, and the historian, Dr. Werner Cahn, who had been helping Feuchtwanger with his research, as editorial assistant. Cahn's presence proved invaluable when Landshoff fell ill with tuberculosis in 1934 and had to spend half a year in a Swiss sanitarium. In his absence, Cahn managed all operations of the program.

After initial involvement in everyday affairs including design and production, co-director Alice van Nahuys turned her major attention to the Dutch-language program. And there was considerable new activity, in addition to the publication of several exiled writers in Dutch translations. In 1934 Querido launched an innovative low-priced paperback literary series named *Salamander*, of which six titles appeared during that year. It was and remained a great commercial success.

The return of relative stability allowed Landshoff to pursue his acquisitions program. The copyright transfers from Kiepenheuer and Fischer proved a real challenge, especially in the early stages, when there was still much uncertainty about the political future in Germany. But for 1934, Landshoff succeeded in attracting thirteen books from old and new authors, such as Albert Einstein (1879–1955) who had left Germany for the United States in 1933 under loud protest and Emil Ludwig (1881–1948), pseudonym of Emil Cohn, the famous biographer of Goethe, Bismarck and Napoleon, who had become a Swiss citizen in 1932. Also on the list was Joseph Roth (1894–1939), a peripatetic Jewish journalist and novelist who had worked for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* before 1933. His major literary success until that time was his 1932 novel *Radetzkymarsch*, a nostalgic view of the Austrian empire. Roth's many new books would appear with several other exile publishers. Also on the list was Jakob Wassermann (1873–1934) with a new novel, *Joseph Kerkhovens dritten Existenz*. Leopold Schwarzschild (1891–1950) was on the list with a political book *Das Ende der Illusion*. Schwarzschild was a Berlin journalist, who edited the weekly *Das Tagebuch* from 1920 until 1933 when the Nazis banned it. He fled to Paris and was able to start the influential exile weekly *Das Neue Tagebuch* (1933–1940), with financial help from a Jewish Dutch lawyer J.C.S. (Hans) Warendorf, brother of the Amsterdam publisher Marinus Warendorf.¹⁸

The year 1935 brought Querido Verlag's real commercial success with its publication of Vicki Baum's new novel *Das grosse Einmaleins*. Vicki (Hedwig) Baum (1888–1960) grew up in Vienna as a daughter of Jewish parents. After an early career as a musician, she changed her focus to journalism. From 1926 through 1932 she was editor of the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*. Her first novel, *Stud. Chem. Helene Willfüer*, appeared in 1925 by Ullstein in Berlin and was an immediate success. A number of other best-selling novels followed, all centered on a new, forward looking view of women. In 1931 Baum spent time in Hollywood during the filming of her book *Grand Hotel*, and in 1932 she moved to California permanently with her second husband and two children. Her books were banned by the Nazis, and it was quite a coup for Landshoff to sign a contract with her. Several more of her novels would be on the Querido list in the following years. But the

¹⁸ Schwarzschild (1965); Walter (1978) vol 4, pp. 72–127.

year 1935, in which a record total of twenty-six books would be published, also saw more new work by Lion Feuchtwanger, Emil Ludwig, Heinrich Mann, Klaus Mann, Ernst Toller and Arnold Zweig. Also included in the list that year was a German translation of Dutch novelist A. den Doolaard's *Orient Express*, first published in Dutch by Querido to great public acclaim in 1934, and a Hitler biography by Rudolf Olden, which Landshoff believed would not be too offensive to the Dutch authorities.

After long and arduous negotiations with the Nazi government, Gottfried Bermann-Fischer, who had succeeded his father-in-law as the owner of Fischer Verlag when he died in 1933, was allowed to take the stock of books by banned authors with him to Vienna in 1936. He had severed his ties with the Leipzig house, which was now run by Peter Suhrkamp, a non-Jewish former associate.¹⁹ With Fischer's stock of important authors such as Thomas Mann now flooding the international exile markets, Landshoff tried to counter. Querido issued, and heavily advertised, a series of inexpensive editions of earlier Querido titles, as well as a Vicki Baum reprint from the Ullstein list.

New initiatives included the complete works in five volumes of novelist and playwright Leonard Frank (1882–1961), whose books had earlier been published by Insel Verlag. There were also new novels by Klaus Mann, Gustav Regler and Wilhelm Speyer. A new author was Konrad Merz (1908–1999), pseudonym of Kurt Lehmann, whose novel *Ein Mensch fällt aus Deutschland* was the first to deal with the dilemmas facing German exiles in the Netherlands.

In March of 1937, a long-waiting personal time bomb exploded in the Querido office. Alice van Nahuys and Fred von Eugen, Querido's sales manager, after a ski vacation in St. Moritz, announced their plans to get married. She was forty years old and the decision meant the final break of her intimate relationship with Emanuel Querido. The announcement did not go over well. In an outburst of anger, Von Eugen was fired on the spot and evicted from the Querido household in Laren closely followed by van Nahuys, who held firm to her marriage commitment. Landshoff, perhaps unaware of the specific realities of the personal relationships, kept a distance, while trying to remain close to Querido. But the result was that there were major disruptions in the daily operations. Querido fell seriously ill and was hospitalized.

¹⁹ Bermann-Fischer (1967).

After considerable soul-searching on both sides, van Nahuys ultimately relented on the professional side and returned to work, but not before gaining one half of Querido's personal stock, the other half going to his son Arie. She was now in charge. Von Eugen joined the Arbeiderspers, an Amsterdam printer and publisher where he subsequently founded the Amsterdamse Boek-en Courant Maatschappij as a subsidiary. Geert A. van Oorschot (1909–1987), who had previously worked for A.A.M. Stols, was appointed as von Eugen's successor as sales manager at Querido.

Despite the organizational setbacks, Landshoff was able to produce eighteen books during 1937. New novels by Vicki Baum, Lion Feuchtwanger, Alfred Döblin, Klaus Mann, Anna Seghers and Joseph Roth were followed by a new big biography of Johann Strauss by Heinrich Jacob and a new work by Thomas Mann, *Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull*, which would become one of his most important novels. Also new to the list was the former actress and novelist Irmgard Keun (1905–1982), whose early books *Gilgi* (1931) and *Kunstseiden Mädchen* (1932) had become instant best-sellers, but also had become victims of the Nazi's ban. Walter Landauer of Allert de Lange invited her to come to Amsterdam in 1936 with the promise to publish her books.²⁰ However, her novel *Nach Mitternacht* was deemed too politically sensitive by the Dutch staff of Allert de Lange and was rejected. Landshoff decided differently and published the disputed novel promptly.

Still aware of the dangers of irritating Dutch officials, Landshoff was concerned about publishing Feuchtwanger's report on his trip to Moscow, in which he commented extensively and critically on Stalin's notorious political trials at the time. The small book, however, did not make much of an impact after all.

The German take-over of Austria, the Anschluss, in 1938, proved to be a disaster for the book industry. Several Jewish publishers suffered immediately. Amongst them were the owners of Phaidon Verlag, Bela Horowitz and Ludwig Goldschneider, who fled to London, where they were assisted by the British publisher, Stanley Unwin, in their efforts to re-establish their business there. The original founder of Phaidon, Frederick Ungar, who was now operating the trade publisher Saturn Verlag, was forced out and he left for New York, where

²⁰ Roloff (1977).

he founded a new company under his own name. Bermann-Fischer, who had only arrived in Vienna in 1936, was forced into a second exile. He moved to Stockholm, where Swedish publisher Bonnier offered him a host arrangement, not unlike the one between Querido and Landshoff.

For Querido and the other exile publishers, the loss of Austria meant an immediate elimination of a very important market. Moreover Querido's major Viennese distributor had been behind in payments for several months, and Landshoff had to absorb substantial losses. The marketing crisis was worsened when, after the disastrous Hitler-Chamberlain Munich agreements, the Czechoslovak Sudetenland was yielded to Nazi power. Moreover the Mussolini government in Italy officially forbade the sale of exiled Jewish authors on July 1, 1938.

The financial struggle took its toll in the Querido office, where van Nahuys began to have second thoughts about the whole operation. Already earlier, Landshoff had had to let his associate Werner Cahn go in order to cut the payroll. The crisis, however, also brought Landshoff and his Allert de Lange colleagues, Hermann Kesten and Walter Landauer even closer together.²¹ Given the new realities, they decided to consolidate their marketing and distribution arrangements, which soon also included Bermann-Fischer's list from Sweden. There were advantages for all parties in this arrangement, which put the warehousing, marketing and distribution in the offices of Allert de Lange. Querido was relieved of some of the overheads of the German department, and for Bermann-Fischer it meant an immediate entry into well-established trade patterns. The three new partners also agreed to establish a new company, Forum Bücher, housed in the Querido offices and directed by Landshoff. Another new initiative, strongly supported by Thomas Mann, who agreed to be on the advisory board, was to publish reprinted editions of German titles in a uniform format. The series ultimately contained some nineteen titles by Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Franz Werfel, Annette Kolb, Stefan Zweig, Vicki Baum and others. Although all with 1939 imprints, several of the titles were actually published during the fall of 1938.

In addition to these activities, Landshoff also traveled to New York twice in that year to pursue new marketing options and possibly the

²¹ Actually, Landshoff and Landauer had for a considerable time roomed together in Amsterdam, where they were often joined by Klaus Mann and Hermann Kesten. See Allert de Lange profile in this book.

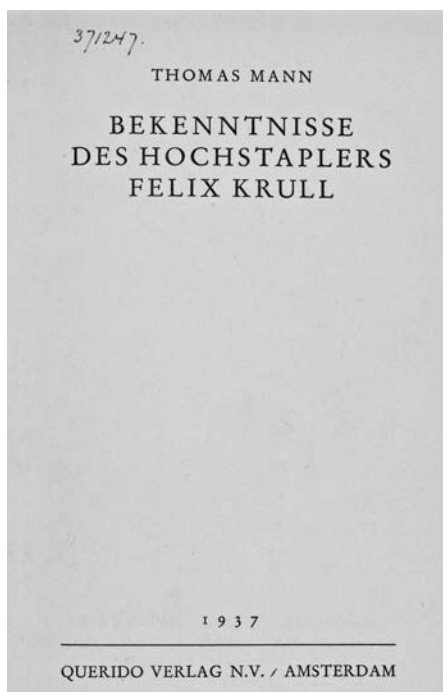


Fig. 4.

establishment of a branch office. He met there with Heinz Günther Koppell, whom he already knew well as a part investor in Kiepenheuer. Koppell had operated one of Germany's largest book clubs, the Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, in Berlin and also owned stock in a large printing company. He had left Berlin for Palestine in 1932 and went later to New York and he had been able to move all of his money with him. Landshoff and Koppell founded the Alliance Book Co. in New York in cooperation with Longmans, Green & Co..²² The object was to create an outlet for the joint German-language book production of Querido, Allert de Lange and Bermann-Fischer in the United States. To Landshoff's great dismay, he found that much of the German population in New York was pro-Nazi and anti-semitic, demonstrating very little interest in the exiled, mostly Jewish, writers. The future of the

²² Cazden (1970) pp. 80–82.

German-language market looked bleak indeed. Alliance did try to distribute several German titles from the Querido, Allert de Lange and Bermann-Fischer list, but soon shifted to English translations of German books, a more successful venture, before selling the company in 1942 to Ziff-Davis.

Upon his return, Landshoff, with the personal encouragement of Emanuel Querido, kept working on his diminishing list. Only thirteen titles were added that year, but they included new novels by Querido stalwarts such as Heinrich Mann, Emil Ludwig, Irmgard Keun, Alfred Döblin and Arnold Zweig. Among the new authors that year was Erika Mann (1905–1969), oldest daughter of Thomas Mann, a talented actress and political journalist, in addition to being a writer of children's books. She had been very successful with the political exile cabaret, *Die Pfeffermühle*, which she operated with her brother Klaus. Her Querido book *Zehn Million Kinder. Die Erziehung der Jugend im Dritten Reich*, with an introduction by her famous father, was a serious indictment of Nazi Germany. The book was promptly translated into English for the British and American markets. Also new to the list was the renowned Erich Maria Remarque (1878–1970) whose new novel *Drei Kameraden* was added.

But, despite these efforts, Querido's German-language program was in trouble. Only five new books appeared in 1939, in addition to the earlier mentioned *Forum* reprints. However, the spring of 1940 did yield a big new novel by Feuchtwanger, *Exil*, and shorter contributions by Joseph Roth, who had died in 1939, and Bruno Frank.

Fritz Landshoff was in London, when on May 10th, 1940 the German army invaded the Netherlands. Unable to return, he was quickly interned by the British government together with many other new German exiles. In Amsterdam, recognizing the immediate danger, Querido Verlag closed down within a few days. Werner Cahn and his wife Jetty destroyed as many records of the German-language program as they could. Emanuel Querido stepped down under pressure in July of 1940 and Alice von Eugen-van Nahuys followed suit, when in early 1941 the Germans took over the management of the company and her half-Jewish identity became unacceptable. Also leaving the parent company, van Holkema & Warendorf, was the Jewish partner Marinus Warendorf, who, after being forced to sell his shares, was allowed to leave the country with his family.

In 1942 Emanuel Querido and his wife went into hiding, but they were betrayed and captured. They both succumbed a year later in the

concentration camp Sobibor in Poland. The von Eugens went underground, where Fred, who had managed to extract the ownership of his A.B.C. books from the now Nazified Arbeiderspers, went on to play a major role in the Dutch resistance movement. The Dutch Querido publishing program continued under difficult circumstances under the direction of Tom van Blaaderen, who had taken over the stock from Querido and Alice von Eugen. Geert van Oorschot, the sales manager, proved a mainstay during all the turmoil throughout the war.²³

Ultimately, Landshoff was allowed to move from England to New York, where he arrived by way of Mexico in 1941. In California, Landshoff was briefly reunited with many of his authors, who had managed to reach the United States and were trying to make a living in Hollywood. Among them were Vicki Baum, Alfred Döblin, Lion Feuchtwanger and Heinrich Mann. The latter three had escaped occupied France with the invaluable assistance of a young American, Varian Fry, who represented the American Emergency Rescue Committee in France.²⁴ Fry also assisted the escape of the Jewish publishers Kurt Wolff and Jacques Schiffrin.²⁵

When Bermann-Fischer was deported from Sweden, because of perceived political activities and made his way finally to New York, he and Landshoff founded the L. (Landshoff) B. (Bermann) Fischer publishing company. They were joined by Marinus Warendorf, who had reached New York in 1942 by way of Buenos Aires. The L.B. Fischer company published only in English. On their list were many translations of German authors. One of their early successes was an anthology of modern German writers, edited by Hermann Kesten and Klaus Mann. Landshoff and Warendorf also incorporated Querido Inc. in New York. The new company managed to re-publish two Vicki Baum novels in coordination with Bermann-Fischer Verlag in Sweden, which continued its operation, directed from New York by Bermann-Fischer. But soon the emphasis shifted, and with active support from the Netherlands government in exile in London, Querido Inc. published a considerable number of literary and historical titles in Dutch and in English.²⁶

²³ Van Oorschot became a leading literary publisher in Amsterdam after the war. van Faassen (2005).

²⁴ Isenberg (2001).

²⁵ Edelman (2006 a).

²⁶ Halberstma (1998); Edelman (1986).

Landshoff returned to the Netherlands shortly after the German capitulation in 1945. Alice von Eugen resurrected Querido with the help of her husband, who also became a major publisher and entrepreneur in his own right.²⁷ Landshoff continued the German-language program. The book stock proved to be largely intact. It had been moved into the warehouse of Allert de Lange when the companies consolidated their sales efforts in 1938. In an interesting quirk of fate, the books were confiscated by the Dutch police on orders from the German authorities in July of 1940, but not actually destroyed. Moreover the unbound stock at their major printers Thieme in Nijmegen had largely survived the war undetected as well. The Querido German-language program was ended in 1949, when Bermann-Fischer was again able to take control of his own company in Germany. Querido's Dutch program soon flourished, Landshoff joined von Eugen in the management of *Excerpta Medica* and, when Harry Abrams founded his art publishing company in New York, Landshoff operated its successful European branch office in Amsterdam.

Allert de Lange

The renowned novelist and literary critic Georg Hermann left Germany in March 1933 for the Netherlands. His strong pacifist views and his Jewishness had made it impossible for him to stay after the Nazi takeover. The Netherlands was an obvious choice. Hermann, a pseudonym of Georg Hermann Borchardt (1871–1943), had been a weekly book reviewer for the Amsterdam newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* since 1921 and a frequent visitor to the meetings of the Dutch PEN club. Almost all his books had been translated into Dutch and over the years he had befriended numerous Dutch writers and artists.²⁸ He arrived in the Netherlands with his immediate family and settled in the idyllic village of Laren, a cultural refuge outside Amsterdam, where several of his friends lived. He had brought with him a new book manuscript and he was looking for a publisher.²⁹ Shortly after his arrival he visited with long-time friends in Amsterdam, Siegfried and Hilda van Praag, an activist Dutch Jewish journalist couple, who had traveled widely in

²⁷ Von Eugen owned the A.B.C. publishing company and the Wetenschappelijke Uitgeverij. He was instrumental in the founding of *Excerpta Medica*, and the Dutch encyclopedia *ENSIE*.

²⁸ van Liere (1974).

²⁹ His most recent novels had been published by Ullstein and Kiepenheuer.

Europe. Hermann asked for advice as to where he might go with his manuscript now that his German publishing possibilities had been eliminated. Almost immediately, Hilda van Praag saw the opportunity for a new publishing venture allowing for the continuing publication of Jewish German authors whose books were being banned in Germany.

During the next few days she discussed the proposition with her employer Isaac Keesing (1886–1966), the publisher of an economic reporting system, *Keesing's Financieel Archief voor Beurs, Handel en Nijverheid*, which he had founded in 1911. But Keesing had many other things on his plate, including the newly founded journal *Keesing's Historisch Archief*, and he declined. Hilda van Praag next sought out the opinion of the publisher of one of her husband's recent books, Allert de Lange, also in Amsterdam. Gérard de Lange (1896–1935), the director of the company, wasted little time given this opportunity and shortly afterward, on April 25th, a contract was signed by him with Georg Hermann and a new publishing venture was launched.³⁰

Allert de Lange (1855–1932) founded the bookstore carrying his name in 1880 after initial traineeships in Brussels and London.³¹ Soon afterward he began to publish as well. Among his early publications were several popular magazines, all short lived. His life-long love for France and its culture manifested itself when he began to import French magazines, such as *l'Illustration* and *La Vie Parisienne*. In addition to wholesaling them he also developed an elaborate system of customized magazine rental portfolios for home delivery. Soon afterward he established an Amsterdam branch of the French book import firm Nilsson & Lamm. French books were soon followed by additional imports from Germany, England, Italy and the United States. His business was good, but his marriage was even better. His wife, Rijkje Middelhoven, daughter of a rich lumberyard owner from Zaandam, brought a considerable dowry and de Lange was able to acquire and renovate a beautiful building on the Amsterdam Damrak in 1885. After the reclamation of the waterway and the subsequent building of the Amsterdam stock exchange across the street, the location became even more prominent. The building is still standing.

³⁰ Much of the information in this profile, unless otherwise noted, has been derived from Schoor (1992) and Spring (1994).

³¹ van Helmond (1980).

On his early trade list were children's books, popular fiction, language and travel books. Initially he wrote his own travel books based on his personal experiences, but later used commissionaires who solicited paid advertising from hotels and restaurants for each guide. De Lange's interest in art was highlighted in a series *Moderne Nederlandse Schilders* with hand-colored illustrations and a sumptuous publication *Chefs d'Oeuvre des Peintres Néerlandaises Anciens et Modernes*, making use of the rich resources of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum for which he published a detailed guide. He also wrote and published romantic and crime fiction using the pseudonym of Alfred Termonde, a practice continued in later years by his daughter Annie. Over the years Allert de Lange became a very successful and respected businessman and patron of the arts in Amsterdam and attained a leadership position in the Dutch book trade organizations.

Their son Gerard was born in 1896. He grew up in a comfortable environment, reportedly being adored by his mother and fifteen year older sister Annie. He was smart, but simultaneously lazy, often rude and unruly. He had a strong bent for French language and literature which he shared with his father. After finishing his secondary education, he joined the reserve cavalry, rejecting the discipline and rigor of a regular military career. With an independent income, this led to a life of uniforms, horses, comradeship and leisure. He also became an early alcoholic. Upon his father's request he joined the family business reluctantly in 1922, rarely ever appearing at the office, however. The only identifiable editorial contribution was a series, called A. & G. after the father and son's first names, of mysteries in translation published in uniform bindings, by famous authors such as Arthur Conan Doyle and Agatha Christie.

Allert de Lange died in 1932. The company at that time consisted of the bookstore, the publishing division, the import firm of Nilsson and Lamm and an advertising bureau, operated independently by Philip J. van Alfen (1894–1969), who had owned that company but had merged with Allert de Lange a short time before. Gerard de Lange, who by now was using the French form of his first name, Gérard, still kept his distance from the office, leaving the daily management to Antonie P.J. Kroonenburg (1902–1977), the chief book buyer, who had been with the firm since 1921.

When de Lange signed the contract with Georg Hermann in 1933, he did two other things at the same time. As the publisher for Hermann's books he designated Theodor Verlag, a company that did not yet exist.

He also appointed Hilda van Praag as editor for the new company. When he had time to reconsider his options, he decided, after all, that the German program was to be a department of Allert de Lange rather than a separately incorporated publishing company. But he stuck with Hilda van Praag and urged her to immediately plan a trip, with her husband if at all possible, to the various European countries where German authors could still safely live and write and try to sign up prospective authors. De Lange knew very well that, while Hilda had the conviction and energy, Siegfried had the literary contacts.

Hilda Sanders (1898-) and Siegfried van Praag (1898–2002) had been married in 1925. Both had grown up in orthodox Jewish families in Amsterdam and had strong religious beliefs as well as an acute historical awareness of their Jewishness. Siegfried studied French and became a high school teacher and Hilda prepared for a business career and she soon started working for Keesing, an Amsterdam publisher of financial information systems. When their son was born, she took time out, but she went on to play a major role in Keesing's journalistic business. Siegfried published his first novel, *De Weegschaal*, in 1925 and soon began to write for newspapers and magazines about French and Jewish literature. New books followed rapidly. Four years later, he gave up teaching and devoted himself to full-time writing. In 1930 the couple made an extensive trip to Austria and Czechoslovakia, where they met and befriended numerous established authors. In 1933 Siegfried wrote *Werelddburgers*, a book with biographical and literary sketches of famous Jewish writers, among whom were Max Brod, Jakob Wassermann, Franz Werfel and Stefan Zweig.

On their trip on behalf of Allert de Lange in 1933, they first visited Vienna. The novelist Gina Kaus (1894–1985), whose books had already been banned in Berlin by the Nazis, was aware of their mission, and organized a party where many of the writers, residents and exiles were present. In Prague, it was the exiled journalist Heinrich Eduard Jakob (1889–1967), who helped organize the meeting, where Max Brod and Oskar Baum were also present. Next they went to Salzburg to meet with Arnold Zweig. In Switzerland, they met with Arnold Döblin, Emil Ludwig and Erich Maria Remarque. In Paris they saw Joseph Roth and others. The van Praags were interested in publishing as one of their first books, an anthology of Jewish writers whose books were banned, would serve as a first major statement in response to Hitler's overt anti-semitism. The proposed title for this book was *Scheiterhaufen*, the German word for pyre, symbolizing the evil of public book burnings in Germany. But many of the prospective authors were weary to sign.

First of all, Allert de Lange was as yet an unknown quantity, despite the respect they had for the van Praags. Others were waiting for a possible turn-around of political events in Germany, while yet others did not want to be publicly identified as Jewish, because they had converted a long time before.

Immediately upon returning to Amsterdam, a major conflict emerged between Hilda van Praag and Gérard de Lange. She had strong emotional feelings about the establishment of this new venture; de Lange's interest, in contrast, was mostly commercial. He did not have much knowledge of, or interest in modern German literature, he had no Jewish ties nor sympathies, and he did not want to publish communist literature nor, for that matter, any anti-German books. His conservative political position and economic opportunism certainly was not untypical for someone of his social class in the Netherlands at that time. Fear of communism far exceeded fear of fascism in general. De Lange, however, did not agree with Hitler's anti-semitism and he certainly was interested in helping refugees as long as his business principles were not violated. Hilda van Praag wanted an action-oriented committed program, focused on Jewish exiled writers. It was a battle she could not win and after considerable soul-searching, she told de Lange in August of 1933 that she was resigning her position. She agreed, however, to continue in an advisory position, as she had already invested much energy in the project. De Lange offered her a retainer for those services, which she gratefully accepted.

The search for a new editorial director started immediately, and after consultations with the van Praags, the choice fell on Hermann Kesten (1900–1996), the former literary advisor to Kiepenheuer Verlag,³² who had left Germany in the spring of 1933 and now resided in Paris. His considerable editorial experience, his wide net of contacts, and his status as a successful novelist would give the Allert de Lange program an immediate respectability. Kesten was interested, but did not want a managerial position, because he wanted to continue to write, just as before when he worked for Kiepenheuer. Moreover, he wanted to stay in Paris. He suggested however, that his former Kiepenheuer colleague Walter Landauer (1902–1943), now in exile in Vienna as a literary agent, might be interested. Landauer was happy to accept and promptly moved to Amsterdam. Curiously enough, Gérard de Lange never met with either Kesten or Landauer during these negotiations.

³² See Querido profile in this book.

One of the first books to appear in the new German department was the anthology of exiled German authors, originally envisaged by Hilda van Praag. Hermann Kesten had agreed to take the editorial lead, but many of Hilda's suggested authors were included. Kesten struggled with the concept of publishing only Jewish, or otherwise banned authors, afraid that such classification might indicate a breach in the integrity of German literature. The book appeared under the politically neutral title of *Novellen Deutscher Dichter der Gegenwart* in the fall of 1933. Not all contributors were living in exile, notably those whose homes were in Czechoslovakia and Austria, and not all authors had their books banned, such as Stefan Zweig and Felix Salten. But it certainly was an impressive array of contemporary German literary talent, with contributions by Max Brod, Alfred Döblin, Lion Feuchtwanger, Georg Hermann, Joseph Roth, Ernst Toller, Jakob Wassermann, Franz Werfel and Arnold Zweig. Most of them would appear on the Allert de Lange and Querido lists in the years to come.

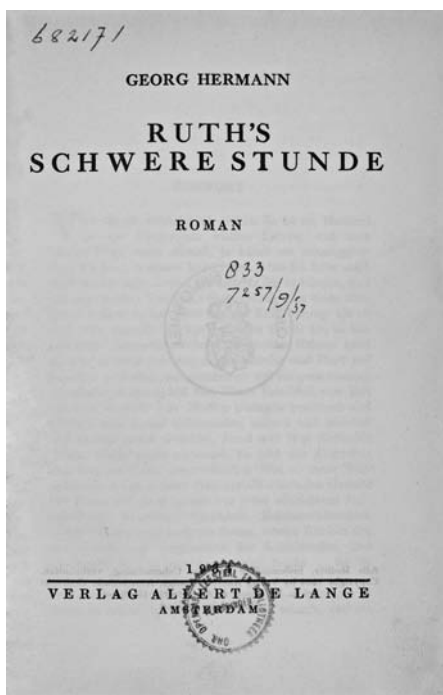


Fig. 5.

Already recruited by the van Praags was Max Brod (1884–1968), who appeared on the 1933 list with a new novel. Brod, Czech-born but writing in German, was a well-established novelist. He was an active Zionist and a close friend of Franz Kafka. Gina Kaus, a popular novelist who had hosted the van Praags in Vienna, was included in the list with a new novel as well. But the two stars on the list were Christa Winsloe and Joseph Roth. Winsloe (1888–1944) was Hungarian-born, but moved to Vienna in 1920. She was a novelist and playwright, whose successful play *Gestern und Heute* became the script for the widely popular German movie *Mädchen in Uniform* in 1931. A self-proclaimed lesbian, Winsloe had spent some time in the United States visiting with the journalist Dorothy Thompson and already had a wide international following. She re-wrote the play as a novel, *Das Mädchen Manuela* for the Allert de Lange list. It quickly sold its first three thousand copies as well as its subsequent reprint. The book was also soon translated into English, French and Dutch.

Joseph Roth (1894–1939) was represented with a reprint of his famous novel *Hiob*, which had first appeared to great critical acclaim by Kiepenheuer in 1931. Roth, a Viennese writer who had lived in Paris for sometime, had a considerable literary reputation. Especially his recent novel, *Radetzkymarsch* was widely praised. On a visit to Amsterdam, he became good personal friends with Gérard de Lange. They had much in common. They had similar conservative political views, a nostalgic love for the military, their uniforms and their horses and a considerable craving for alcohol. They spent much time together in Amsterdam bars and the good atmosphere resulted in de Lange granting Roth considerable advances and royalties. He needed both.³³ Roth was supporting his divorced wife in a mental institution in Vienna, a girl-friend and her two children in France, and he liked to travel and live well. Ultimately, Roth became one of the most prolific writers for the German exile press with nine novels, four of which were published by Allert de Lange.

Although Gérard de Lange kept his customary distance from the day-to-day affairs, his strong position that no anti-German books be published was honored. After considering Ernst Toller's autobiography, it was rejected and immediately picked up by Fritz Landshoff for Querido. In correspondence with a Dr. Hofmann of Otto Beyer Verlag

³³ Roth (2005).

in Leipzig, a major supplier of German books to Nilsson & Lamm, de Lange emphasized the general public admiration for Hitler in the Netherlands. He re-stated his own right-wing conservative politics and pledged that he would not publish any anti-German material. As an example, de Lange mentioned that he rejected works by Lion Feuchtwanger and Arnold Zweig, which had already earlier been signed by Querido, a gratuitous remark indeed.³⁴

It was no coincidence that there was close cooperation between Fritz Landshoff at Querido and Kesten and Landauer at Allert de Lange. After all, they had been associates at Kiepenheuer and remained personal friends. Actually, Landshoff and Landauer roomed in the same pension and were joined there often by Kesten and Klaus Mann, Landshoff's editorial colleague, when they visited from Paris. In order to keep a low public and professional profile, Landshoff and Landauer used the two separate street numbers that the pension occupied. Both were most grateful for having jobs in those difficult times, and they pursued their editorial acquisitions goals in a competitive, yet often coordinated fashion.

Allert de Lange organized its initial European distribution through the foreign department of Hachette in Paris, which had branches in most countries. They were allowed a fifty percent discount. Territorial exceptions were Austria, Czechoslovakia, Palestine and the United States where arrangements were made with local distributors. Allert de Lange employed three sales representatives. Josef Lang covered Austria, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Hungary. John Heldring covered Scandinavia, while Afred Kaufmann covered France, the Saarland, Elsas and Luxemburg.

Despite the fact that the first set of authors on the list were from Czechoslovakia and Austria, and therefore not exiles, and despite Gérard de Lange's assurances, the books were not allowed into Germany. But Allert de Lange found a clever way around it, at least for some time. An arrangement was made with the Viennese publisher E.P. Tal, which had a branch in Leipzig. They selected from the Allert de Lange list those titles which they thought they could sell in Germany without difficulty. For those books, separate title pages were printed with the Tal imprint, and the books thus found their way to the Leipzig wholesalers and into unsuspecting German book stores,

³⁴ Schoor (1992) p. 18–20.

who welcomed new books by established authors. In that way, books by Max Brod, Christa Winsloe and others were able to sell some two thousand additional copies, a considerable bonus.

During 1934, the German-language publishing program of Allert de Lange matured with a total of twelve titles. Georg Hermann, who was the first to come aboard led the list with a new novel. So did Hermann Kesten and Max Brod, while Joseph Roth was present again. Despite Gérard de Lange's antipathy towards communists, two of them, undoubtedly unwittingly, made their way onto the list. Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) had noted communist leanings, was famous for his *Dreigroschen Oper* written in 1928, and had transformed his script into a novel with the same title.³⁵ Egon Erwin Kisch (1885–1948), a well-traveled Jewish journalist with strong left-wing political feelings, added *Geschichten aus Sieben Ghettos*. Also new to the list were Alfred Neumann (1895–1952), an established and respected writer of historical novels, Karl Tschuppik with a biography of Maria Theresia, and the French-German novelist and essayist René Schickele. Schickele, who had been very successful with his trilogy *Das Erbe am Rhein*, published between 1925 and 1931, had been unhappy with the Querido list of political activists. Also appearing for the first time was Adrienne Thomas (1897–1980), the pseudonym of Hertha Strauch, a Viennese-born writer whose novel *Die Katrin wird Soldat* (1930), based on her own experiences as a nurse in the first World War, was a great international success, translated into fifteen languages and banned by the Nazis. Her new novel *Dreiviertel Neugier* was well received.

In an established German publishing tradition, Allert de Lange also issued a two hundred page *Jahrbuch 1934–35*, filled with excerpts of their major forthcoming publications in an effort to establish credibility in the book industry and in the world of letters. In their introductions, the Dutch literary critic Pierre Henri Ritter referred to the long Dutch tradition of high quality publishing, while Kesten emphasized the literary quality of the publishing program as opposed to its political content. Meanwhile, Landauer and Kesten followed the previous Kiepenheuer tradition of producing well-designed books with attractive covers. Like Querido Verlag, most of the books in the early years were designed by the exiled Paul L. Urban. For printing, Allert de Lange turned to the firms of Van der Garde in Zaltbommel

³⁵ Onderdelinden (1994).

and L.E. Bosch in Utrecht, which had been printing much of their Dutch-language output. But the German language proved to be an editorial obstacle so Landauer succeeded in hiring the exile Georg Levy to help with production, as well as two German secretaries.

The production for 1935 looked promising as well, with a list of fourteen titles. Repeating authors were Max Brod, Georg Hermann, Gina Kaus, Alfred Neumann, Joseph Roth and Adrienne Thomas, whose famous *Die Katrin wird Soldat* was issued in a new edition. New authors were the journalists Theodor Plivier (1892–1955) and Alfred Polgar (1873–1955), the Viennese journalist and critic Theodor Wolff (1868–1943) and Hans Natonek (1918–1964), also a journalist and novelist and a close friend of Joseph Roth. The list also included the first of several German translations of books by Schalom Asch (1880–1957), the Polish novelist, who at the time, wrote in Yiddish. The overall character of the list did not change. The emphasis remained on popular and historical fiction, biography and essays, all non-controversial and aimed at a large reading market.

But change did take place. Perhaps not unexpectedly, Gérard de Lange died in June of 1935 of an apparent alcohol overdose. He had been an enigma for many of his business associates. Other than Joseph Roth, he never met with any of his German authors. While he kept close tabs on all business decisions, it was always done by proxy, mostly through Antonie Kroonenburg, who had been promoted to assistant director. The latter also served as the major go-between for the Dutch and German staff members. De Lange's partner Philip van Alfen now took over the prominent management role as a major stockholder. De Lange's widow, Mies de Lange-Quak, the other stockholder, was not active in the company. But if de Lange had had his eyes on the bottom line, van Alfen was an even tougher task master. He had only limited publishing experience so he had no trouble delegating editorial and production matters. But he forced an almost immediate end to the large advances and royalties paid to the authors. This was to the considerable consternation of Joseph Roth, who much depended on the anticipated income. Van Alphen also followed the established conservative political track. When a manuscript of the popular novelist, Irmgard Keun (1905–1982), who had gone into exile to Ostend in Belgium in 1936, was considered, after active solicitation by Landauer, it was rejected on the basis of its political content. Landshoff at Querido was again glad to pick up her contract.

Van Alfen's financial concerns were not unjustified. Sales of the books had been slipping as the market for German books did not expand. When Gottfried Bermann-Fischer, the owner of Fischer Verlag, was finally able to move with his banned book stock to Vienna in 1936, after having turned over the management of the original German firm, the book supply increased while the markets were shrinking. Moreover, the Germans had finally caught on to the Allert de Lange distribution arrangements with Tal in Vienna and Leipzig. Several shipments had been confiscated and booksellers became discouraged forcing the program to an end in 1936. As an inevitable result, Allert de Lange had to increase prices, which, in turn, hurt sales.

But Landauer and Kesten persevered. Thirteen new titles appeared in 1936 and twelve in 1937. Established names such as Kesten, Winsloe, Kaus, Schickele, Kisch and Roth continued to be included with new books. New to the list were Georg Bernhard, Annette Kolb, Ödön von Horvath and Siegfried Kracauer. Georg Bernhard (1875–1944) was the former editor-in-chief of Ullstein's *Vossische Zeitung*, and since 1933, the founding editor of the exile paper *Pariser Tageblatt*. Annette Kolb (1870–1967), a very independent woman with a strong socialist bent was, by this time, a celebrated European literary star and now in exile in Paris. Allert de Lange published two of her reports on the Salzburg opera festival, while her new Mozart biography appeared in 1936 with Bermann-Fischer in Vienna. Hungarian-born Ödön von Horvath (1901–1938), a playwright and novelist had moved to Berlin to advance his career. His plays had strong political content so he left for Paris in 1933. Siegfried Kracauer (1889–1966) had a splendid career as a film critic and scholar. He moved to Paris in 1932 and to New York in 1938. Allert de Lange published his new Offenbach biography. Also on the list were more Schalom Asch translations, and a German translation of *Inside Europe* by the American journalist John Gunther. A great success was the translated novel *Die Straße der fischende Katze* by the Hungarian writer, Jolanda Földes (1903–1963). It soon appeared in English and French translations as well. Allert de Lange would publish two more of her books.

Continuing production problems led to a decision to move much of the typesetting and printing to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, where the German language was more prominent. When designer Paul Urban moved to Switzerland in 1936, the chief task of designing the Allert de

Lange books fell to Henry Friedländer, who also did much of the work for Querido.³⁶

When Hitler's army marched into Vienna in 1938, and subsequently into Czech Sudetenland, the impact on Allert de Lange authors was immediate and devastating. Many of them had actually not been in exile, others had sought refuge there. Max Brod moved, with Kafka's manuscripts, to Palestine. Siegfried Schmidt, the translator of Schalom Asch went there too. Christa Winsloe, Adrienne Thomas, Annette Kolb and Gina Kaus went to Paris. So did Siegfried Kracauer, Alfred Polgar and Hans Natonek. The German arrival also meant the second exile for Gottfried Bermann-Fischer. Thanks to an offer from Swedish publishing giant Bonnier, he was able to move his company to Stockholm.

But not all were so lucky as to be able to leave. Heinrich Eduard Jacob was arrested in 1938 and sent to Dachau and Buchenwald. After the intervention of an American uncle, he was freed in 1939 and ultimately reached the United States. Joseph Roth's wife remained in the mental institution in Vienna and was ultimately a victim of the Nazi euthanasia practices.

For all exile publishers, the loss of such a large market segment was a major setback. Yet, the offer of manuscripts did not diminish. Between 1938 and 1939, Allert de Lange was able to publish thirty books. Most of these were by their regular authors. There were several highlights, however. Hermann Kesten, deeply affected by the Spanish Civil War, wrote a moving novel *Die Kinder von Gernika*, which stands as one of his best books ever. The list also included one last novel by Joseph Roth, who died in a poorhouse in Paris in 1939. Of note was a book by Sigmund Freud, *Der Mann Moses*, and a massive two-volume set by historian, Veit Valentin (1885–1947), whose book on Bismarck had been published by Elsevier in 1937. Also on the list of translated authors were Winston Churchill and John Gunther, whose *Inside Asia* was translated by Hermann Kesten.

The smaller market led Allert de Lange to cooperate much closer with Querido and Bermann-Fischer. The three companies decided to establish a new company called Forum in Amsterdam, which would release books with a wide appeal reprinted from their respective lists. Landshoff at Querido took the editorial lead and some seventeen titles

³⁶ Löb (1995).

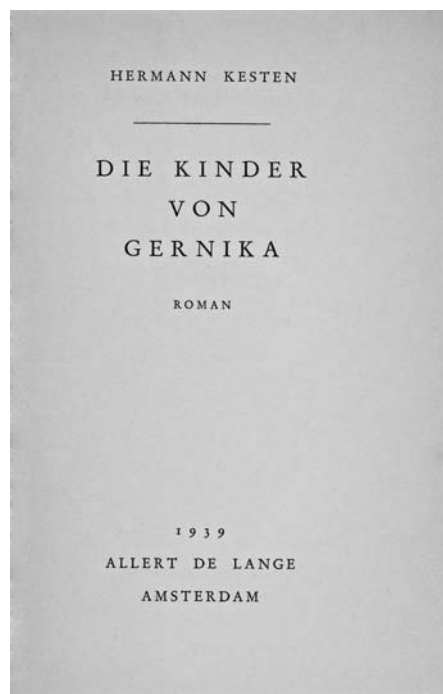


Fig. 6.

in uniform appearance were issued.³⁷ They also decided to centralize their distribution through the Allert de Lange offices, which were well-equipped for the task. In charge of this new operation was Friedrich Sussmann, former sales manager for Querido in Prague who had succeeded in fleeing to Amsterdam. The three companies also attempted to establish a presence in New York. Fritz Landshoff went there to explore the possibilities and founded with others the Alliance Book Company, which did issue several of the Allert de Lange and Querido imprints. But the efforts to sell more German books did not really succeed. Landauer, Landshoff and Kesten, who had come for a visit from Paris in 1938 also discussed at length the possibilities of an alternative Scandinavian location, but they came to no conclusion. Landauer had finally managed to bring his aging mother from Germany to Amsterdam and simply was not ready to leave.

³⁷ See Querido profile on this and subsequent cooperative programs.

Allert de Lange's 1940 book production included Franz Theodor Czolkor's report on the German invasion of Poland, a landmark biography of Gustav Mahler by his wife Alma Mahler-Werfel and novels by Annemarie Selinko and Friedrich Walter. A new novel by Alfred Neumann, *Die Volksfreunde* was ready by the time the Germans arrived in May 1940, but it could no longer be released.³⁸

When the Germans invaded France in 1939, Hermann Kesten was interned by the French for several weeks as were many of his friends and compatriots. As a result of his intense efforts to get out of the country, he was granted a visitor visa for the United States by the American consul in Paris and was able to reach New York in May 1940, soon followed by his wife. Almost immediately, Kesten immersed himself in the efforts of the American Emergency Rescue Committee to provide visas and transportation for European artists and writers, trapped in France and other countries.³⁹ Among the Allert de Lange authors who succeeded in coming to the United States were Georg Bernhard, Henry William Katz, Gina Kaus, Siegfried Kracauer, Annette Kolb, Valeriu Marcu, Hans Natonek, Adrienne Thomas and Alfred Neumann. Among those who stayed behind was Christa Winsloe, who had fled to Paris in 1938, went underground in 1940 and joined the French resistance movement. She was arrested by the Nazis in 1944 and killed.

On May 10th, 1940, the German army invaded the Netherlands. It was not long afterward that Allert de Lange was visited by the German police.⁴⁰ All files and books had to be packed up and were confiscated. With the customary German bureaucratic zeal, ten copies of each title had to be preserved for archival purposes. The book collections also included the stock of Querido and their joint venture Forum Bücherei as well as part of the stock of Bermann-Fischer. The archives were subsequently shipped to Germany.⁴¹ All type still at the printers had to be destroyed as well. When in May 1940 the Germans visited his pension, Landauer panicked and jumped out of a window. He broke his leg and stayed in the hospital for a while. The S.A. in fact, had not come looking for him after all at that time. Kesten was able to acquire a visa for

³⁸ Winkler (1977).

³⁹ Elfe (1974).

⁴⁰ Schroeder (1993).

⁴¹ After having been moved several times within Germany, the archives were confiscated by the Russian army and moved to Moscow, where they were rediscovered in 1991. They are now housed at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam.

him to Cuba from New York, but Landauer wanted to wait for a visa for his mother. When the danger increased, they both went into hiding. But he desperately wanted to leave thinking his mother was safe. He decided to try to go to Switzerland, but was arrested on his way. He was sent to Westerbork and subsequently to Bergen Belsen, where he died in December 1944. Georg Hermann, Allert de Lange's first author, suffered the same fate. He was arrested in 1943 and was sent to Auschwitz where he died shortly afterward.

The Dutch-language publishing program of Allert de Lange continued under the leadership of van Alfen and Kroonenburg during the war years often under difficult circumstances. When the war was over in 1945, the packed up and sealed book collections of the German program were amazingly found in a neighboring warehouse and were able to provide a much needed cash influx for Allert de Lange as it successfully re-established its Dutch publishing, bookselling and importing businesses.

A.W. Sijthoff

In February 1934, the Dutch philosopher Herman Wolf (1893–1942), who had just published a new book about Nietzsche with A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij in Leiden, introduced Sijthoff's director, Simon G. (Hans) van Looy (1897–1957) to Rudolf Kayser (1889–1964), a recently exiled German scholar and journalist now living in the Netherlands.⁴² After lengthy discussions and considerations, Kayser was appointed as editor of a new Sijthoff German-language department in August of 1934.

Founded as a printing company in 1850 by Albertus Willem Sijthoff (1829–1913) in Leiden, the firm A.W. Sijthoff, soon became a publisher as well. Sijthoff took in his son-in-law C.G. Frentzen as a partner in 1885, and when Sijthoff died in 1913, Frentzen and his son Albertus Willem took over.⁴³ However, a year later the elder Frentzen died and J. Tersteeg was appointed co-director until his departure in 1924. In that year, the board decided to appoint a young and energetic director to assist Frentzen. The choice fell on van Looy, who, at the time, was directing the Amsterdam trade publisher S.L. van Looy, where he had

⁴² Leiden University Library. Sijthoff Archives. A. Correspondence, 1933–1940. Febr. 25, 1934.

⁴³ van der Meulen (1891).

succeeded his father in 1922. As a result, the two companies merged and the van Looy program and stock was integrated with those of Sijthoff.⁴⁴

When A.W. Frentzen resigned in 1929, van Looy became the sole director, where he was ably assisted by long-term staff member W.P. Du Croix. The company was still privately held by remaining Sijthoff and Frentzen family members, several of whom served on the board. Printing was its main source of income, but the active publishing program contributed much to the steady flow of work, as well as to the company's financial balance.

By 1930, Sijthoff had developed a solid list of general trade books, professional books and periodicals and reference books, as well as scholarly books in classics, religion and international law. The fiction list, in addition to respected Dutch authors such as Willem Kloos, Jac. van Looy, Herman Heijermans and Elizabeth Zernike, included translations of Daphne du Maurier, A.J. Cronin, Howard Spring and Hans Fallada. Among the reference works were *Brinkman's Catalogus van Boeken*, the Dutch cumulative book trade bibliography and *Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, by A.J. van der Aa, a multi-volume dictionary of Dutch national biography. One of Sijthoff's early international scholarly projects was the series *Codices Graeca et Latina* published between 1897 and 1923 in twenty volumes under the editorship of Leiden University librarian, Willem N. du Rieu (1829–1896), and the *Breviarum Grimarium* between 1903 and 1910 in twelve volumes. The publication of these splendid reproductions of manuscripts was initially a cooperative project of American and European university libraries. Since 1923 Sijthoff also published the series *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. It was a prestigious project edited originally by University of Leiden professor J.J.E. Hondius, six volumes of which were published by 1933 with several more to come in later years. In addition, in 1922 Sijthoff had become the official publisher of the Permanent Court of International Justice in The Hague, which was issuing its proceedings in various series regularly. Van Looy, a creative and enterprising, but careful, publisher regularly used a network of Dutch academic advisors to evaluate manuscripts and projects.

Rudolf Kayser, the recent German exile, had studied literature, philosophy and art history in Berlin and Munich and received a doctorate

⁴⁴ van der Lek (1951).

from Würzburg in 1914.⁴⁵ He became a gymnasium teacher in Berlin and was an active participant in that city's cultural life. In 1922 he was appointed as editor of the influential review *Neue Rundschau*, published by S. Fischer Verlag, succeeding long-term editor Oskar Bies. Under Kayser's leadership the journal gained a true international editorial perspective, including changing the type from the traditional Fraktur to Latin Antiqua to improve its readability abroad. He came to know the great generation of German literary, art-historical and philosophical luminaries. In 1924 Kayser married Ilse Löwenthal (1897–1934). Ilse's mother Elsa (1876–1936), after a divorce from her first husband, had married her cousin Albert Einstein (1879–1955) in 1919 and Kayser thus became Einstein's son-in-law.

Kayser had written well-received biographies of Stendhal (1928), Spinoza (1932) and Albert Einstein (1930), the latter under the pseudonym Anton Reiser, which also had been translated into English. At the end of 1932, he was replaced as editor of *Neue Rundschau* by Peter Suhrkamp, who had worked for Fischer since 1931. Kayser's contract ended in December 1932 and Gottfried Bermann-Fischer (1897–1995), who had joined the Fischer company in 1925 and had by now taken over the directorship from his aging and ailing father-in-law Samuel Fischer (1859–1934), felt that a change was necessary.⁴⁶ Kayser, therefore, had no immediate employment and after the Nazi take-over, he had no choice but to go into exile. In the fall of 1933 he moved to the Netherlands with his wife. Albert Einstein was abroad when the Nazis took over and had no intention of returning to Germany.

Before Kayser left Berlin, however, he was able to secretly ship Albert Einstein's papers and manuscripts to Paris with the help of the French ambassador in Berlin.⁴⁷ Like the experience of so many of his colleagues, life in exile was very unsettling. Kayser ultimately decided to concentrate on writing a new book on Emanuel Kant, but, as his savings dwindled, he was forced to look for employment.

In the early discussions with van Looy, Kayser had submitted a plan for publishing a German-language popular science series along the lines of the successful art series by Phaidon in Vienna.⁴⁸ They would be inexpensive mass-market editions, using a standard format and

⁴⁵ Hansen (1976).

⁴⁶ De Mendelssohn (1970).

⁴⁷ The papers are now in Princeton, N. J..

⁴⁸ Sijthoff Archives. Febr. 1934.

design. Somewhat later, in April 1934, Kayser wrote to van Looy that he had just returned from Paris visiting his seriously ill wife, where he had:

“met another German publisher who has the same idea. He has manuscripts from German professors and he is prepared to back us up with capital. Speed is of the essence.”

But speed was not the usual pace in the Sijthoff offices, where van Looy had to consult his board on all important issues. The negotiations over Kayser's employment dragged on for quite some time. On May 13th Kayser wrote to van Looy:

“We're already negotiating for several months (the founding of Querido Verlag took only several hours!). Costly time has been lost, but I have done much work. If now no positive decision is made, there is no guarantee that I do not get an offer from elsewhere.”

A few days later, a draft contract was on the table, approved by the Sijthoff board. Apparently, the board was very cautious in bringing an outsider aboard. According to the contract, a separate German scholarly department would be set up within Sijthoff, where Kayser would be responsible for the acquisition of manuscripts and the sale of books. All correspondence was to be co-signed by the director or his designee. Kayser's salary would be 166.66 Dutch guilders per month and he would receive five percent of sales of unbound copies while he would receive the same percentage for the sale of rights. All accounting would be kept separate and Kayser could only review his own department's accounts. However, as time went by, the relationship between van Looy and Kayser became very cordial. Kayser even promised to learn Dutch! Soon afterward, Sijthoff also hired a German-speaking secretary for Kayser, Johanna Irmgard Warmbrunn, who was also an exile. Sijthoff had to renew her and Kayser's work permit every three months.

Sijthoff's German publishing program though emerged into a different form than originally proposed. Instead of publishing a series of popular science books, Kayser attracted manuscripts in a variety of scholarly fields in a somewhat eclectic and opportunistic manner. In an interview with the Amsterdam newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*, Kayser stated that the list would be a:

“series of works of prominent German scholars who have difficulties with the publication of their work in Germany or wanting to be

guaranteed freedom of expression in a neutral country. Already several of them are under contract.”⁴⁹

In the search for potential authors, Kayser approached the Academic Assistance Council in London, which was set up to help displaced German scholars, as well as the recently founded *Notgemeinschaft Deutschen Wissenschaftler im Auslande*. At the University of Amsterdam, economics professor H. Frijda (1887–1944) had taken an active role in the placement of Jewish refugee scholars and Kayser was in regular contact with him. But before any real work was accomplished, Rudolf Kayser had to take timeout, because his wife Ilse died in July 1934. She had been ill for quite some time and was staying in Paris with her sister Margot. Kayser, understandably, was despondent.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, the editorial work continued. The first book of the new German-language program was the fourth edition of Alfred Einstein’s *Geschichte der Musik*. Einstein (1880–1952), the editor of *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* and music critic of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, was one of the most important music scholars of his time. In 1933 he was forced from his position, because he was Jewish, and he moved to London. The earlier third edition of the book had been published in 1927 by Teubner in Leipzig. It was by then out of print, and the publication of a new edition was no longer possible in Germany.

Two more new titles followed in fall 1934, one by Ferdinand Blumenthal on progress in cancer research and a political science textbook by Hermann Heller. Blumenthal (1870–1941) was Germany’s leading cancer specialist when he was fired in 1933 and forced into exile to Belgrade. Heller (1891–1933) was a prominent law professor in Germany until he too was forced into exile in Madrid in 1933, where he suddenly died. His book *Staatslehre* was prepared for publication by his former student Gerhart Niemeyer (1907–), who had followed Heller to Spain. It became a standard legal text of great influence for many years.

With three prominent books in three different subject fields on hand, Sijthoff faced emerging issues of marketing. Van Looy and Kayser wanted to make sure that the books were available in Germany, so they went to great lengths to publicize that the Sijthoff program was not an

⁴⁹ Sijthoff Archive June 23, 1934.

⁵⁰ Kayser privately published a moving tribute: *Ilse. Ein Requiem*. 56 pp. (Printed in Holland, 1936).



Fig. 7.

anti-German exile press like Querido and Allert de Lange in Amsterdam. The German distribution was assured when the prominent Leipzig firm of Volckmar agreed to be their agent. They immediately ordered one hundred and fifty copies of Heller and one hundred of Blumenthal.⁵¹ This also insured that the books were listed in their stock catalog, the major German equivalent of *Books in Print* at the time.

Distribution arrangements were also made at the same time for Hungary, Rumania, Palestine, Denmark, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Austria, while efforts to do so for the United Kingdom and the United States were also initiated. No official agent for the U.S. was ever appointed, although Stechert-Hafner, a leading New York supplier of European books to American academic libraries, stocked the Sijthoff titles. To promote their books, Sijthoff printed brochures in

⁵¹ Sijthoff Archive Nov. 26, 1934.

several languages for distribution by their agents, as well as for enclosure in targeted scholarly journals.

Publicity was another matter, as the first of the books were indeed written by authors who were no longer welcome in Germany. They were walking a very thin line. In August 1934, Elsa Einstein, Albert's wife and Kayser's mother-in-law, who was staying in Zandvoort at the time, was interviewed by the Amsterdam newspaper *De Telegraaf*. Claiming to be misquoted, she wrote to van Looy apologetically that: "she didn't say that Sijthoff published books that are not allowed in Germany."⁵²

The German government obviously was not at all pleased with all these publishing activities. Recognizing that the sale of German books in the Netherlands had fallen sharply since 1933, an article in the book trade journal, *Der deutsche Büchermarkt*, accused the Netherlands of violating its political neutrality by only reviewing and selling books by expatriates. The writer specifically mentioned Querido, Allert de Lange, van Kampen and Sijthoff.⁵³ Van Looy replied a week later:⁵⁴

"All declarations in this article are untrue. We have nothing to do with emigrant publishers, nor have we published a book with the slightest trace of émigré literature. Our company has always published scholarly German books, whose authors live in Germany, as well as abroad. Not one of their books has a political meaning. We only cover philosophy, art history, medicine, etc."

In an interview with the prominent Dutch author and literary critic Menno ter Braak in The Hague newspaper *Het Vaderland*,⁵⁵ Kayser once again laid out the principles of the new publishing program:

"Scholarship is an international endeavor and should not be subjected to national politics, as is the case currently in Germany. Holland is a good choice, because of its geographical location, its splendid printing capabilities and its long humanistic tradition in its universities and cultural life. Moreover Holland is politically neutral. We have ascertained ahead of time that there will be no objections to our program in Germany and that our books will be distributed there."

For several years before, Sijthoff had been the Dutch distributor for a major art historical work by the German scholar, Max Jacob

⁵² Sijthoff Archive August 8, 1934.

⁵³ *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, Nov. 10, 1934.

⁵⁴ *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, Nov. 16, 1934.

⁵⁵ *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, Oct. 31, 1934.



Fig. 8.

Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, of which ten volumes had been published since 1924 by Paul Cassirer in Berlin. Friedländer (1867–1958) had been the director of the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, but was dismissed in 1933. He remained in Berlin, however, and produced the manuscript of a new volume in 1934. Cassirer could not go ahead with the project headed by a Jewish scholar anymore and offered to sell all of the back volumes and future rights to Sijthoff. After the usual hesitation, van Looy received permission from his board to go ahead and the deal was closed for a price of 4,000 Dutch guilders.⁵⁶ Sijthoff received the back volumes, mostly in sheets, and added its own new title pages whenever they were bound. Three more new volumes were issued until the work was completed in 1937. Friedländer moved to the Netherlands in 1939, where he survived the war.⁵⁷ He was one of

⁵⁶ Sijthoff Archive Nov. 11, 1934.

⁵⁷ Friedländer (1969). See Stols profile for other Friedländer publications.

the few German Jews who was officially exempted from arrest and deportation. His expertise in authenticating works of art was such, that the German officials involved in confiscated and stolen works of art, wanted to have continued access to his knowledge.

But not all projects came to fruition. Sijthoff held extensive negotiations with Karl Strupp (1866–1940). Strupp, professor of international law in Frankfurt until 1933, now lived in Istanbul and proposed to continue his previous publication series *Frankfurter Abhandlungen zum modernen Völkerrecht* (1928–1933) with a new series that included contributions in French, German, English, Italian and Spanish. It did not happen unfortunately, although Sijthoff did ultimately publish Strupp's extensive *Bibliographie du droit des gens et des relations internationales* in 1938. Moreover, sometimes the professional advice received from the outside readers was negative. When Kayser received a manuscript by economist Jacob Marschak (1898–1977), it was rejected by advisor Frijda of the University of Amsterdam, who disagreed with its content.⁵⁸ Marschak, an early Marxist in Russia had moved to Germany in 1919. After studying with Ernst Lederer and Alfred Weber, he received a doctorate in economics from Heidelberg, where he continued to teach until 1933, when he moved to Oxford. He became one of the founders of the field of econometrics.⁵⁹

Kayser's Kant biography had appeared in Vienna by Phaidon in 1935, and he made two nostalgic trips to Germany to see friends. He also traveled to New York in 1935 for lectures, where he made several more contacts with potential authors. On return to the Netherlands, however, he decided to move to the United States permanently. Van Looy was very understanding and supported him in his move. Several more titles were already under contract and in preparation, and Kayser agreed to continue his editorial work from New York. Shortly after his arrival in New York in 1936, Kayser married Berlin-born Eva Urgiß. He received a teaching appointment at the New School of Social Research in New York, the academic home of so many German refugees, and later taught both at Hunter College from 1951 to 1957 and at the newly founded Jewish Brandeis University in Waltham, M.A. All during his American academic career Kayser remained active and productive. His formal contract with Sijthoff had been ended in 1936, but

⁵⁸ Sijthoff Archive Nov. 30, 1935.

⁵⁹ The book, *Kapitalbildung*, was published in 1936 in London by W.E. Hodge & Co..

Kayser continued to be active and received 'finder's fees' for books he recommended.⁶⁰ They agreed that it was increasingly difficult to find German authors outside Germany. Academic exiles were adjusting to their new environment and were beginning to publish in the language of their adopted countries. He and van Looy stayed on good terms for many years.⁶¹

The Sijthoff list had by 1935 developed a somewhat sharper focus on philosophy and the social sciences. Several more prominent authors were attracted. A former student of Albert Einstein, Hans Reichenbach (1891–1953), was one Germany's leading philosophers of science when he left Berlin for Istanbul in 1933. His book, *Wahrscheinlichkeitslehre*, was a milestone. After 1938, Reichenbach taught at U.C.L.A. and his book was translated into English in 1948. Alfred Weber (1868–1958), the younger brother of Max Weber, was an economist and sociologist at Heidelberg until 1933, when he was fired because of his anti-Nazi activities. He did, however, stay in Germany until the end of the war, where he was a leader in intellectual resistance. He was re-appointed to his chair in 1945. His Sijthoff book, *Kulturgeschichte als Kultursoziologie*, was another significant contribution. Karl Mannheim (1893–1947) was a Hungarian-born sociologist who taught at Heidelberg and Frankfurt until 1933, when he went to London. Sijthoff published his *Mensch und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Umbaus*, in an English translation in 1940.⁶² Another important book on the Sijthoff list, was the literary study *Goethe in Umwelt und Folgezeit*, written by the well-established and published scholar Martin Sommerfeld (1894–1939).

Also included in the 1935 list was Theodor Reik (1888–1969), one of the earliest students of Freud, who worked with him in Vienna until 1938, when he was able to move to the United States. Two of his books were published by Sijthoff, *Der überraschte Psychologie*, followed a year later by a small memoir *Wir Freud-Schüler*. Czech philosopher Emil Utitz (1883–1956) taught in Germany until 1933, when he returned to Prague, only to be arrested there in 1938. He managed to survive the concentration camp Theresienstadt. His book, *Die Sendung der Philosophie in unserer Zeit*, was considered a solid contribution to

⁶⁰ Sijthoff Archive March 25, 1937.

⁶¹ van Looy to Kayser, Dec. 8, 1951, about the rights of one of Einstein's Sijthoff imprints. Albert Einstein Archive. Jewish and National University Library, Jerusalem, which also contains the remaining Kayser correspondence.

⁶² Kiss (1986).

the field as was Ernst von Aster's *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart*. Von Aster (1880–1948) moved to Sweden after 1933. More philosophy titles followed: Alfred Rosenthal (1875–), who had moved to New York, wrote *Nietzsche's 'Europäisches Rasse-Problem'*, while Dutch philosopher Jacob M. Nap (1873–) added *Die Römische Republik um das Jahr 225 v. Chr.* to the list. Because the market was deemed too small for such a specialized book, he was asked for a subvention of 1,100.00 Dutch guilders to cover the cost of typesetting and printing for an edition of eight hundred copies selling at a price of 4.50 Dutch guilders.⁶³ Author subventions were by no means a usual procedure with Sijthoff and other Dutch scholarly publishers at the time. Manuscripts of dissertations and inaugural lectures in Sijthoff's fields of interest were actively solicited, but the authors or sponsoring institutions always had to provide the necessary funds to cover the cost of typesetting and printing.

In each of the following few years, some eight titles a year were issued. All books were of a scholarly nature and covered a variety of fields. The author list continued to include prominent German refugees such as Albert Einstein, who had resided in the United States since 1933, and two philosophers Ernst von Aster (1880–1948) who had first moved to Sweden and later to Turkey, and Carl G. Hempel (1905–1997), who found initial refuge in Belgium before going to the United States in 1937. Julius Kraft (1898–1960), former assistant to Hempel moved to Utrecht in 1933 and later to the United States. Among other scholars on the list were Franz Oppenheimer (1864–1943), first chair of sociology in Frankfurt between 1919 and 1929, who settled in the United States in 1938, the classicist Fritz Heichelheim (1901–1968) who moved from Giessen to England in 1933, the legal scholar David Martin (1896–1986) from Leipzig who gained an appointment in Leiden in 1937, where he also became a Brill author and the linguist Heinrich L. Koppelman.

The list in medicine included such authors as Leopold Lichtwitz (1876–1943), formerly from Berlin, and since 1933 connected to Montefiori Hospital in New York, Joseph Berberich (1897–1969), who was fired from his position at the University of Frankfurt and moved to England in 1938 and Rudolf Nissen (1896–1981), former professor of surgery at Berlin, who ultimately settled in the United States by way of

⁶³ Sijthoff Archive Dec. 7, 1935.

Istanbul. Sijthoff published Carl Oppenheimer's introduction to biochemistry in German in 1936. Oppenheimer (1874–1941), a younger brother of the earlier mentioned sociologist Franz Oppenheimer had been the founding editor of the *Zentralblatt für Biochemie* (1908–1936). He moved to the Netherlands in 1936 where he became closely associated with the new publishing programs of Wilhelm Junk in The Hague.⁶⁴

Sijthoff's close association with the International Court of Justice as its official publisher also led to several publications in international law. In 1936, Sijthoff took over the publication of the journal *Geistiges Eigentum. Internationale Zeitschrift für Theorie und Praxis der Urheberrechts und seine Nebengebiete*, the first volume of which had been published in Switzerland. The journal was edited by Hans Leemann and Paul Dienstag. The editor for the Netherlands was Pieter S. Gerbrandy, later the Dutch prime minister, who would lead his government from its London exile during the war. Five volumes of the journals were published between 1935 and 1940. Encouraged by its success in the field of international and comparative law, Sijthoff embarked in 1938 on an very ambitious new project. Under the editorship of Harry Leo Pinner (1892–1964) and Paul M. Dienstag (1885–1945), Sijthoff announced the forthcoming publication of *The Protection of Intellectual and Industrial Property Throughout the World. A Legal Encyclopedia*.

The first volume had the title: *World Copyright*, the second, *Universal Patent Law*. Pinner and Dienstag were both German lawyers and literary agents, among others of Gerhardt Hauptmann, who had found exile in Amsterdam in 1934. Pinner had already published with Sijthoff. Dienstag was one of the editors of the earlier mentioned journal *Geistiges Eigentum*. Marketing plans were drawn up and Sijthoff sold the partial U.S. distribution rights to Kent Law Books in New York.⁶⁵ Wouter Nijhoff, during his annual sales trip to North America in the fall of 1939 solicited over thirty orders from American academic libraries.⁶⁶ The editorial preparations were rudely interrupted by the German invasion. Pinner had moved to London early in 1940. Dienstag was interned in Westerbork in 1943 and died in Bergen-Belsen

⁶⁴ See Junk profile in this book.

⁶⁵ Sijthoff Archive. Oct.-Nov. 1939.

⁶⁶ Nijhoff-Kern correspondence. Martinus Nijhoff Archive. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

in early 1945. After the war, however, the project was revived with Pinner as the sole editor. The ultimate publication of *World Copyright* in five volumes between 1953 and 1960, propelled Sijthoff as one of the leading legal international publishers of the world at the time.

Approaching 1939, the German publication program slowed down. Of note, however, is the legal pamphlet by Kurt Mendelsohn, *The Balance of resettlement: A precedent for Palestine*. Just before the German army invaded the Netherlands in May 1940, Sijthoff issued, somewhat ironically perhaps, on behalf of the Dutch government, the *Netherlands Orange Book*, an attempt to continue to justify the neutrality of the Netherlands in the ongoing European war. The German-language program was, of course, immediately shut down after the Nazis took over. But most other printing and publishing work came to a virtual halt as well, when the Germans commandeered office space in the Sijthoff building. Remarkably enough, Sijthoff produced a small number of Dutch-language clandestine fine printings in 1944 and 1945.⁶⁷ During the occupation, problems arose with the publication of the national trade bibliography, *Brinkman's Catalogus*, of which the cumulative volume for 1936–1940 was appearing in parts. When it became clear that the Germans wanted to review the manuscript for approval, van Looy stalled successfully, arguing that the project could not go forward because its editor was being held as a prisoner of war, while his replacement was unknown to the occupiers. The removal of many entries from the bibliography, which would surely not pass the German test, would have rendered the product useless. The completed volume was released to the subscribers after the war. The stock of the German-language books must have been saved, because in Sijthoff's cumulative catalog of 1951, most of them were listed as still in print.⁶⁸ After the war Sijthoff continued its publishing relationship with the International Court of Justice and continued as one of the world's leading publishers in the field of international law.

Other Dutch Publishers Active in the German Exile Market

The Zuid-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij in The Hague, published a novel *Die Geistigen* by Salomon Dembitzer in 1934.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ de Jong (1958).

⁶⁸ van der Lek (1950).

⁶⁹ A new edition was issued in 2007 by Weidle Verlag in Germany.

Dembitzer (1888–1964) was a Polish-born, German Jewish novelist, who contributed to the Dutch newspapers *Algemeen Handelsblad* and *Het Volk* during his sojourn in the Netherlands during the first World War. After his return to Berlin, he moved to the Netherlands again in March 1933. In this case too, the German-language publishing effort was not continued by the publisher.

Contact, a trade publisher founded in Amsterdam in 1933, also entered the exile field.⁷⁰ It had started the literary magazine *Het Fundament*, edited by Wolfgang Cordan⁷¹ and Chr. Blom, one of the founders of the publishing company. The magazine contained contributions by Dutch journalist Nico Rost, the novelist Klaus Mann and the socialist politician Willy Brandt, who was in exile in Norway. Contact decided to publish a book by the German socialist journalist Friedrich (Fritz) Sternberg (1895–1963), *Der Faschismus an der Macht* in 1935. The author, at the time, was in exile in Switzerland. Although Contact remained active in publishing Dutch translations of exiled German writers, no more German-language titles were issued.

Uitgeverij Hollandia proposed in early 1940 to publish two German-language books by the exiled German former Nazi Otto Strasser (1897–1974). The titles were *Gestapo* and *Das neue Deutschland im neuen Europa*. On the eve of the German invasion, the Dutch publishers association advised against the publication because the controversial reputation of the author might impede Hollandia's reputation by the Dutch authorities.⁷² Clearly, these publishers either did not find enough of a market, or, perhaps, they did not want to compete with Querido and Allert de Lange once their programs were established.

Several other Dutch publishers took on issuing Dutch-language editions of exiled German authors. Among them was the book club Boekenvrienden Solidariteit, organized in 1934 by the Jewish German exile Heinz Kohn (1907–19). It published Dutch-language editions of among others, Wolfgang Cordan, Ernst Toller and Egon Kisch, but did not issue any German-language texts.⁷³

Menno Hertzberger (1897–1982), an energetic and colorful bookman who had started his antiquarian bookselling and publishing business as a young man in Amsterdam in 1920, also tried his hand in publishing exiled German authors. In 1935 he issued Georg Hermann's

⁷⁰ Boltendal (1965).

⁷¹ More on Cordan in the Pantheon profile.

⁷² Schilt (1995) p. 127.

⁷³ Manasse (1999).

new book *B.M. Der unbekannte Fussgänger*, followed a year later by a novel by the same author *Der Etruskische Spiegel*. As in the case of Joseph Roth, Hermann was a prominent Allert de Lange author,⁷⁴ indeed the one whose books initiated their program, and it is likely that Hertzberger, who had an eclectic list, offered the author a better deal. But Hertzberger did not follow up with more titles. In 1938, however, he published a book by Dr. Hugo Sinzheimer, *Jüdische Klassiker der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft*. Sinzheimer (1875–1945), a German specialist in the sociology of law, had been appointed to the faculty of the University of Leiden in 1936. Hertzberger survived the Nazi terror in the Netherlands, although his immediate family did not. After the war, he re-established his international antiquarian business with great success and continued an intermittent international publishing program.⁷⁵



Fig. 9.

⁷⁴ See Allert de Lange profile.

⁷⁵ Hertzberger (2008).

The works of Joseph Roth (1894–1939), the famous and prolific Austrian novelist in exile, were initially published by Allert de Lange. But Roth's financial demands ultimately outstripped the publisher's resources.⁷⁶ As he was looking for a new venue, he happened upon a small Catholic publisher, De Gemeenschap in Bilthoven. De Gemeenschap had been founded in 1925 in Utrecht, as publisher of the progressive Catholic journal with the same name. The leading figure was Albert Kuyle (pseudonym for L.A.M. Kuitenbrouwer) (1904–1958). He was succeeded in 1932 by C.J. Vos (1891–1955). In addition to its main journal, the company built a reputable list of novels, political essays and children's books. However, there were financial pressures. Roth needed money, De Gemeenschap too and both thought they had a good deal. Anton van Duinkerken, pseudonym for W.J.M.A. Asselbergs (1903–1968), who was on the board of the journal was the intermediary between Roth and Vos. After many financial and organizational difficulties, De Gemeenschap finally published two of Roth's novels: *Kapuzinergruft* (1938) and *Geschichte von der 1002. Nacht* (1939). When the last book appeared Roth had already passed away in Paris. De Gemeenschap also issued two other German exile writers: Gerth Schreiner, *Die Republik der vierzehn Jahre* (1939) and a play by Franz Joseph Csokor, *Gottes General* (1939).⁷⁷ After the Germans occupied the Netherlands, the books were supposedly confiscated, but many copies remained in sheets. De Gemeenschap went out of business in 1941. The German books were quietly remaindered after the war by H.M.G.M. Nelissen (1885–1957), a Bilthoven bookseller, with whom De Gemeenschap had cooperated since 1935.

Scholarly and scientific publishing

Although the economic outlook was still bleak in 1933, it nevertheless was a starting point for a remarkable development in Dutch international publishing. The programs of long-term players, such as Nijhoff, Brill, Sijthoff and Noordhoff, expanded with several new initiatives. While the impulse of the numerous exiled German academics certainly played a role, the most important factor, as we now know it in retrospect, was the international decline of German scholarship and

⁷⁶ See Allert de Lange profile.

⁷⁷ Bijvoet/Rietra (1991).



Fig. 10.

publishing and the rise of Anglo-American research and English-language publications. Moreover, the emergence in the Netherlands of entrepreneurial scholarly publishing, based on German models, in contrast to the long-standing model of publishing by scholarly and professional organizations, publishing with subventions from government or semi-government organizations, such as universities, offered a new perspective. Junk, *Chronica Botanica* and later on Elsevier represented the newer model as we will see in their profiles.

Scholarship in the Netherlands had evolved from its French-language roots in the nineteenth century to an active participant in the growth and development of German-language publication. After 1933, with the political and social drama of Nazi Germany in clear view, several prominent Dutch scholars pursued a more broadly based international role. The publishing histories of the journals *Physica* (1934), *Compositio Mathematica* (1934) and *Indagationes Mathematicae* (1938), as documented in later chapters, clearly demonstrate a new direction.

Several more new journals with an international content were founded during this third decade of the twentieth century. Among them were *Antonie van Leeuwenhoek* (1934), *Acta Biotheoretica* (1935), *Acta Psychologica* (1935), *Enzymologia* (1936), *International Review for Social History* (1936), *Mycopathologia* (1938) and *Helicon* (1938). Sijthoff and Elsevier had initially started German exile publishing programs, but as the market for manuscripts and distribution continued to shrink, they began to change their outlook towards English-language projects. Van Stockum's *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* (1939), Sijthoff's proposed *World Copyright Encyclopedia* (1939)⁷⁸ and Elsevier's *Encyclopedia of Organic Chemistry* (1940) are examples of this trend.

Change also came with the publication and distribution system of the Royal Dutch Academy. After decades of languishing in the warehouse of the long-term publisher Müller in Amsterdam, the academy took advantage of the company's demise in 1928 to start anew. In order to take charge, a new company was founded in 1931 by the Amsterdam printers Holland in Amsterdam. This company, Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, began to recognize the sales value of the academy's many monographs in several foreign languages. Stock catalogs were finally produced in 1938 and international markets in Germany, France, England and the United States were explored. There was enough encouragement to inspire the junior partner in the company, Daan Frank, to plan for an English-language scientific publishing program separate from the subsidized academy publications. The German invasion interrupted these plans, but they came to fruition after 1945.

Several Dutch scholarly societies also showed international publishing activity. Among them were the Ornithological Society, the Botanical Society and the Zoological Society. International organizations, such as the International Court of Justice, the Academy of International Law, the International Institute of Statistics and the International Bureau of Fiscal Documentation issued their publications. So were the various publications of the International Association for Hydraulic Research in Delft and the International Society for Soil Science in Groningen. New organizations with an international character were established, such as the International Institute of Social History and the International Archives of the Women's Movement, both in Amsterdam. The Netherlands was also the host of several international

⁷⁸ See Sijthoff profile in this book.

congresses in a variety of scholarly fields such as botany, refrigeration, geography and plant breeding. The proceedings were subsequently published.

The traditional model of university-sponsored research and publication flourished and expanded. The established universities at Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht and Groningen continued and expanded their international research. But the newer ones also made their presence felt. The Agricultural University in Wageningen (1917), for instance, expanded its international activities through an extensive research series. Also of note were the multi-lingual research reports from the Rubber Foundation in Delft, since 1939 under the direction of Roelof Houwink (1897-) and later prominent author and editor for Elsevier, and the publications of the Netherlands Geodetic Commission under the direction of Delft professor Felix A. Vening Meinesz (1887–1966). Philips in Eindhoven continued and expanded their various research activities and published a number of series in technology and electronics. Rotterdam confirmed its growing role in the international economic markets by the publications of the Rotterdam Bank Society and the research series developed by the Netherlands Economic Institute, which would emerge in the post-war years as the Erasmus University.

The University of Nijmegen, founded in 1923, did not have a strong research program, but several individual faculty members made scholarly contributions of note. Joseph Schrijnen (1869–1937), professor of classics and the first rector, edited a series *Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva*, which had a wide international distribution. One of his colleagues since 1923 was Theodor Baader (1888–1959), professor of Germanic philology and a folklorist. In 1929 he started a monograph series with his students called *Disquisitiones Carolinae*. Between 1929 and 1939 a total of twelve books were published, several of them doctoral dissertations for which Baader wrote introductory and sometimes additional chapters. Baader served as rector of the university during the 1936–1937 academic year. A militant Catholic and a confirmed Nazi sympathizer, he apparently appeared in full Nazi uniform before his students after the Germans occupied the Netherlands. In 1942 he published a book of poetry and a year later he lectured together with his Nijmegen colleague Jac. van Ginneken, in Amsterdam at a meeting of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences on Germanic dialects, their specialty, the texts of which were published later by the academy. Given the prevalent political atmosphere, it could not have been a very comfortable meeting. In 1944, when the allied forces entered Nijmegen,

he fled and moved back home to Münster, not far from the Dutch border from where he continued his scholarly work, although, as far as we know, he never had a formal academic appointment since.

Much of the international scholarly activity came to an end when the Germans occupied the Netherlands, but not all. Pantheon in Amsterdam continued its literary publishing program, but soon resorted to clandestine book arts publications. Towards the end of the occupation, Elsevier, North-Holland and newcomer Excerpta Medica began to make plans for post-war publishing programs, which are outside the scope of our project.⁷⁹

Martinus Nijhoff

In 1933, the Dutch physics community, with its long and distinguished research record, decided that changes should be made. The major German journals, in which they traditionally had published their best papers, were now seriously compromised by the Nazi insistence that Jewish scientists were to be excluded. They decided to transform the Dutch-language journal *Physica. Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Natuurkunde*⁸⁰ into an international one with a new numbering sequence. The new journal, also called *Physica* would 'contain the physical papers of the Netherlands.'⁸¹ Its editorial board was to be led by Adriaan Daniel Fokker (1887–1972), a professor of physics at Leiden since 1928. Other prominent Dutch physicists on the board were Nobel prize winner Piet Zeeman (1865–1943) of the University of Amsterdam, Groningen professor Frits Zernike (1888–1966), a future Nobel prize winner, Amsterdam professor Johannes D. van der Waals Jr. (1873–1974) and Utrecht professor Hendrik A. Kramers (1894–1952). The Dutch-language section was continued as *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Natuurkunde*.

The venerable Dutch scientific society De Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen, founded in 1752 in Haarlem, decided to join the new venture.⁸² The society was the sponsoring organization of the *Archives Néerlandaises des Sciences Exactes et Naturelles* since 1866. One of the journal's sub-series, containing the physical sciences had

⁷⁹ For detailed reports on these and other programs see Andriess (2008).

⁸⁰ The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, vol. 1–13 (1921–1933).

⁸¹ *Physica*. Vol. 1, nr. 1., December 1933.

⁸² Bierens de Haan (1970).

been published since 1912.⁸³ Its content was still in the traditional French language, and its influence had been waning in recent years.

The new journal was an immediate success and attracted papers from an international community. Its publisher was Martinus Nijhoff of The Hague. The choice of Nijhoff was not surprising. The company was the publisher of *Physica*'s earlier Dutch version, as well as of the major series of the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen and of the Teyler Museum in Haarlem.⁸⁴ Nijhoff had also recently taken over the distribution of the *Communications of the Kamerlingh Onnes Institute* in Leiden.

The firm had been founded as a bookstore in The Hague on January 1st, 1853 by Martinus Nijhoff (1826–1894). He had grown up in Arnhem, where his father, Isaac Anne Nijhoff, was a bookseller, publisher and local historian. Nijhoff had interned with Frederik Muller in Amsterdam and A. Francke in Paris and was well prepared. In The Hague he made good connections with the Royal Library, the National Archives and many other government agencies. While bookselling remained his primary occupation, Nijhoff soon used his newly found connections to publish for the international scholarly community. He published several books by the librarian at the Royal Library, Jan Willem Holtrop (1806–1870), notably his *Monuments typographiques des Pays Bas* (1857–1868). Holtrop became a close personal friend as did his successor at the Royal Library Marinus F.A.G. Campbell (1819–1890) of whom Nijhoff published *Annales de la typographie Néerlandaise au XVe siècle*. (1874–1890). Among others in Nijhoff's personal and professional circle were the historian Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801–1876) and the national archivist Reinier C. Bakhuizen van den Brink (1810–1865). Through their contacts Nijhoff developed a productive relationship with two American scholars doing research in the Netherlands, the historian John Lothrop Motley (1814–1877) and the collector and bibliographer Henry Murphy (1810–1882) who was also the American ambassador. They were good customers and Nijhoff became the European publisher of Motley's *History of the United Netherlands* published between 1860 and 1867.

⁸³ *Archives Néerlandaises des Sciences Exactes et Naturelles*. Series 3A. *Sciences Exactes*. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, vol. 1–14 (1912–1933).

⁸⁴ *Archives du Musée Teyler*. Series 3. The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, vol. 1–10 (1912–1953).

In 1863, however, Nijhoff became the publisher of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, which started publication under the editorship of professor Matthijs de Vries. It was the official effort to codify the Dutch language, and it took subsequent generations of editors and publishers for it to be finally completed in 2001. This linguistic connection also led to a very successful cooperation with Johan Hendrik van Dale (1828–1872) whose *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* was first published in 1872 and issued in numerous editions ever since. Its steady income allowed Nijhoff more room to invest in other projects. In 1866 Nijhoff became the official publisher of the *Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen* in Haarlem.⁸⁵ Their major journal *Archives Néerlandais des Sciences Exactes et Naturelles* was started in that year. All articles were written in, or translated into French, which was still the scientific language of choice in the Netherlands at that time. This relationship also led to the publication in 1888 of one of Nijhoff's major projects, the *Oeuvres Complètes* of the famous Dutch scientist Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695). It was ultimately completed in 1950 in twenty-two volumes.

One of Martinus Nijhoff's children, his son, Wouter Nijhoff (1866–1947), followed in his father's footsteps. Wouter Nijhoff had interned in 1888 with Joseph Baer in Frankfurt, where he developed a life-long friendship with one of the partners, Moriz Sondheim (1860–1944), H. Welter in Paris and David Nutt in London. He officially joined his father's firm in 1891. Already there was his brother-in-law, P.A.M. Boele van Hensbroek (1853–1912), who was married to his older sister Martina Cornelia. When the elder Nijhoff died in 1894, the two took over together. Boele van Hensbroek, who was also a poet with literary and historical interests, took the lead in overseeing publishing and auctioneering activities, while Wouter Nijhoff concentrated on antiquarian bookselling.

Recognizing the importance of the growing market for European scholarly books and periodicals in American academic libraries, Wouter Nijhoff made his first trip to the United States in 1901, and promptly opened an office in New York.^{85a} Although he made repeated visits since, the office was eliminated in 1904. Meanwhile, partner Boele van Hensbroek traveled extensively throughout Europe.

⁸⁵ Bierens de Haan (1970).

^{85a} For more details on Nijhoff's experiences in the United States, see Edelman (2010).

Wouter Nijhoff, who had a strong interest in bibliography, published the first volume of his *L'Art typographique dans les Pays Bas (1500–1540)* in 1903. A few years later, with the company's commercial success seemingly assured, new splendid company quarters were built on the prestigious Lange Voorhout in The Hague. The building, designed by Dutch architect, Paul Limburg, was completed in 1910. Its facade still stands today.

In 1907, Boele van Hensbroek retired. Nijhoff now surrounded himself with a very able group of Dutch book-men, who took charge of the major departments. Henri Mayer (1880–1958) had joined the company in 1911, and would have a remarkable career until 1946 as the head of the 'sortiment', the new-book department. Herman Egbert Kern (1879–1960), son of Leiden Sanskrit professor, Johan H.C. Kern (1833–1917), left Brill in 1914 to lead the Nijhoff antiquarian department with great distinction for almost forty years.⁸⁶ Theunis Folkers (1879–1950), who had started his career with Noordhoff in Groningen, was appointed as head of the publishing department. Wouter Nijhoff was an enlightened employer for his day. Women were appointed in professional positions, he eliminated the much maligned required evening staff service hours and instituted a pension plan for his long-time staff.⁸⁷

Nijhoff's original publication list had never really had a strong subject focus. Most books and periodicals were in Dutch, although there was an eclectic assortment of books in English, French and German and many had historical or contemporary subjects. But Wouter Nijhoff developed solid publishing and distribution relationships with many Dutch government and other organizations. Among these were academic departments at the Universities of Leiden and Utrecht, the Linschooten Vereeniging, which published Dutch naval exploration accounts, and the Dutch ministries of Agriculture, Colonies, Education, Justice and Foreign Affairs. All contributed to a rich and diversified list with a broad international appeal, without having to make substantial financial investments. Most publications came with the sponsorship of scholarly and scientific organizations, and almost all came with subventions of one kind or another. The dual nature of this process would continue to be the standard operating procedure for Nijhoff publications for many years to come.

⁸⁶ Gerits (2004).

⁸⁷ Nijhoff (1941).

It was very much Wouter Nijhoff's wish that his own son Martinus (1894–1953) join the firm in due time. But after several part-time efforts, it became clear that the young man's heart beat to a different drum. He was a poet rather than a businessman, and he ultimately did become one of the Dutch literary highlights.⁸⁸ However, another succession opportunity emerged. In 1917 Nijhoff's nephew, Wouter Nijhoff Pzn (1895–1977) joined the company. He had delayed his law studies in Leiden, because of the uncertainty of World War I, and never returned to school afterward. He was the son of Paul Nijhoff (1868–1949), a younger son of Martinus Nijhoff, who was the director of the esteemed Amsterdam booksellers and publishers, Scheltema & Holkema. Like his uncle, young Wouter Nijhoff took an immediate liking to the antiquarian side of the business, but he ultimately became involved in publishing as well.

The year 1917 also brought a major turn-around in the business emphasis of the Nijhoff house. Throughout W.W.I, Nijhoff had supplied American libraries with continental European publications, despite all kinds of shipping impediments. When the United States entered the war, the neutrality of the Netherlands became a major asset for Nijhoff. The American Library Association, with the Library of Congress and the State Department, designated Nijhoff and a Swiss dealer as the sole supplier of German books and periodicals. Some two hundred American academic and public libraries became instant customers. Although some of the larger research libraries returned to their trusted German suppliers after the war, Nijhoff's reputation as a major European library supplier and subscription agent was established and would not be relinquished.

Nijhoff started publishing a new periodical in 1919, *Genetica*, edited by Johan Paulus Lotsy (1867–1931) of Leiden University and Wageningen professor H.J. Sirks (1889–1966). Nijhoff had published books by Lotsy before, and the productive relationship with Sirks would lead to several more important series in the field of genetics. In 1921 the important new series *Capita Zoologica* followed, edited by Eduard David van Oort (1876–1933), the director of the Natural History Museum in Leiden. Nijhoff would publish van Oort's monumental *Ornithologica Neerlandica* in five volumes between 1922 and 1935. In 1923, Nijhoff embarked on another very ambitious new project.

⁸⁸ Donker (1954).

Raimond van Marle (1887–1936) was a trained Dutch historian, who had moved to Italy in 1918. He was financially independent and developed a passion for Italian painting. His monumental *The Development of the Italian schools of painting* ultimately would be complete in nineteen volumes in 1938. Leiden University librarian, Frederik Caspar Wieder (1874–1943), added the *Monumenta Cartographica* to the Nijhoff list. It was published in five portfolios between 1925 and 1933.



Fig. 11.

In 1924, Wouter Nijhoff Pzn, resumed the trips to the United States which his uncle had initiated in 1901. It would prove to be an annual affair, which was to have significant consequences for the company's future welfare. Nijhoff, a very personable man with wide intellectual interests, developed close professional relationships with a generation of American academic librarians, who, in turn, entrusted him with a considerable part of their European acquisitions. The need of American research libraries to build up their European reference works and

periodical back-files led to an additional specialization in the Nijhoff antiquarian department.

The Depression had, of course, its serious impact on all of the Nijhoff activities. Nevertheless, the company and its staff worked hard to compensate. Wouter Nijhoff Jr. (as he was known in the United States) took the initiative to reverse the flow of books as well. The company was now also able to acquire the European distribution rights of several American university presses, such as Princeton, Michigan and Stanford as well as of the publications of such prominent institutions as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Huntington Library in San Marino, California.

Several other new publishing initiatives were undertaken as well. In 1927 Nijhoff began publishing the new journal, *Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Experimentale*, on behalf of the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen. Nijhoff also started publishing in 1928 the *Annales Bryologici*. Yearbook devoted to the study of mosses and hepatics in 1928. It was edited by the remarkable young biology Utrecht graduate student, Frans Verdoorn.⁸⁹ In 1932 there followed the journal *Acta Phaenologica*. *International Phenological Journal* published on behalf of the Dutch Phenological Society.

The revamping of *Physica* in 1933, described earlier, was followed by another major publishing event in physics. It was the publication of the collected papers by Hendrik Antoon Lorentz (1853–1928), former professor of physics at Leiden, who had shared the 1902 Nobel prize with his student Pieter Zeeman (1865–1943). This major editorial project, under the direction of Zeeman and Lorentz's Leiden successor, Adriaan Daniel Fokker (1887–1972), was completed in nine volumes in 1939.

The Nazi rise in Germany also prompted Nijhoff into action. Nijhoff took over the stock and distribution of Lazarus Goldschmidt's *Der Babylonische Talmud*, when it became clear that it could no longer continue to be published in Germany. Goldschmidt (1871–1950) was an orientalist and Talmudic scholar. The earlier volumes of this major translation project had been published by the Jüdische Verlag in Berlin. After 1933 the printing was done in Czechoslovakia. The ninth and final volume was issued under a Nijhoff imprint in parts between 1933

⁸⁹ See profile of *Chronica Botanica* in this book. Verdoorn also edited for Martinus Nijhoff the *Manual of Bryology* (1932) and *Manual of Pteridology* (1938).

and 1936. Goldschmidt, meanwhile, had moved to London with his superb library, which is now housed in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Nijhoff made several more moves in response to the Nazi threat to Jewish Germans. When learning in 1934 that his old friend Moriz Sondheim was left penniless when the brothers Leo and Edwin Baer had moved their famous antiquarian store to Switzerland, Nijhoff and his Dutch-German friend and author Ernst Kossmann (1861–1945) managed to raise enough funds to support Sondheim and his family for the duration of the war.⁹⁰ Historian Gustav Mayer's new edition of his monumental biography of Friedrich Engels had been completed in 1932 and was waiting to be published by Ullstein in Berlin. Mayer (1871–1948) taught social and political history at the University of Berlin, where he was a controversial figure because of his outspoken political views. He was fired in 1933 when the Nazis took control and Ullstein decided not to release the book. Nijhoff rescued it by buying the whole edition from Ullstein and issuing it in The Hague under the Nijhoff imprint.⁹¹

Two other early Nazi victims found their way to the Nijhoff list. Kurt Goldstein (1878–1965) was a celebrated neurologist and psychologist. After he was fired in 1933, he spent a year in the Netherlands with financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation, where he wrote his important text *Aufbau der Organismus*, published by Nijhoff in 1934. Goldstein moved to the United States in 1938 where he continued his brilliant career at Harvard. His book appeared in an English translation in 1939.⁹² The second author was a famous psychologist as well. William Stern (1871–1938), who was also Jewish, had taught at the University of Hamburg from 1916, when he was fired in 1933. Stern moved to the United States in that year, where he taught at Duke University. His 1935 Nijhoff book *Allgemeine Psychologie* was subsequently published in an English translation by MacMillan in New York in 1938. In both cases, of course, the international market value of the original German editions was severely diminished after the appearance of the English translations in the United States.

⁹⁰ Kossmann (1998) p. 211–212.

⁹¹ Gustav Mayer (1949) p. 340. Mayer became a staff member at the International Institute for Social Studies in 1936.

⁹² It was published by The American Book Company in New York. The book has been reprinted several times and is still in print.



Fig. 12.

The Nijhoff list in psychology received a further boost in 1935, when a new journal *Acta Psychologica* began publication. Its editor was Géza Révész (1878–1951), a Hungarian psychologist, who was exiled from Hungary in 1919, and had moved to the Netherlands, where he was appointed at the University of Amsterdam. It had a large international editorial board, among which we note the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget, Kurt Bühler from Vienna, Groningen professor Henri J.F.W. Brugmans (1884–1961), the earlier mentioned William Stern and another German exile, David Katz (1884–1953), formerly professor at the University of Rostock, who was by now teaching in London. Four volumes were published under the Nijhoff imprint between 1935 and 1939.⁹³ Nijhoff also published Revesz's major new work, *Die Formenwelt des Tastsinnes* in two volumes in 1938.

⁹³ Vol. 5 (1940–1941) was published by the North-Holland Publishing Co., which continued it after the war.

In the same year, Nijhoff published the collected essays of Austrian philosopher of science, Moritz Schlick (1882–1936). Schlick had been one of the founders of the Wiener Kreis, the major philosophical movement. He was Jewish and quite controversial, and he was murdered by a mentally disturbed student in 1936, causing an uproar among liberal Viennese academics.

The ongoing Jewish exile and the threat of war continued to play a role in the Nijhoff company. Already in 1933, the major antiquarian Berlin bookseller Paul Gottschalk (1880–1970), left Germany and moved his business to The Hague. Nijhoff and Bernard Quaritch of London, helped him move his stock out of Berlin by pretending to buy it at bargain prices. Gottschalk moved to New York in 1939 and was able to ship much of that stock there.⁹⁴ Georg Witkowski (1863–1939) was a prominent professor of German literature at the University of Leipzig. In 1933 he was forced to retire and arrested by the Gestapo in 1937. In 1939 he moved with his wife, who was Dutch, to the Netherlands but was forced to sell his German real estate and his extensive library to pay for his expenses.⁹⁵ He died in Amsterdam shortly after his arrival. Nijhoff tried to sell the library and printed a partial catalog to help in the efforts.⁹⁶ During his annual visit to the United States in 1939, Wouter Nijhoff tried very hard to convince the Library of Congress to buy the collection, but as of March 1940 there had not yet been a resolution.⁹⁷ Most likely, the books were ultimately added to the Nijhoff stock and sold in subsequent years.

Several other important publishing projects with long histories were continued or completed during this unsettled period. The *Armorial General* by Johannes Baptista Rietstap (1828–1891), the monumental illustrated documentation of the heraldry of some 130.000 European families, had originally been published in Gouda between 1861 and 1884. Since 1904, Nijhoff had been the publisher of a series of supplements by Victor Rolland (1843–1912) and his son Henri Victor Rolland (1887–1970). After a long hiatus, Nijhoff published three more volumes between 1934 and 1942.⁹⁸ Moreover, in 1938 Nijhoff published

⁹⁴ Gottschalk (1967).

⁹⁵ Witkowski (2003).

⁹⁶ Nijhoff-Kern correspondence. Nov. 4, 1939. Martinus Nijhoff Archive. Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

⁹⁷ Order Department records. Library of Congress Archive.

⁹⁸ The project was continued in 1950.

a reprint in three volumes of the illustrations, which originally had been published between 1903 and 1925 which were then out of print.

Begun in 1888, the effort to publish the complete works of Christiaan Huygens was actively continued with four new volumes appearing between 1934 and 1944. The project was ultimately completed in twenty-two volumes with the publication of the last volume in 1950. It must have been a great satisfaction to Wouter Nijhoff to see the completion of the supplement to his *l'Art Typographique* in 1937. Johan Frederik Bense, an English teacher in Amsterdam, completed his *Dictionary of Low Dutch elements*, which had been published in five parts between 1926 and 1939. Also completed was van Marle's *The Development of the Italian schools of painting* in 1938. The first two volumes were also issued in an Italian translation.

But new important works were also added to the list. Former Nijhoff author Hendrik Gerard Beyen (1901–1965), professor of ancient art at the University of Utrecht, sealed his international reputation with the publication of *Die Pompejanische Wanddekoration*, the first volume of which was published in 1938 and ultimately completed in 1960. The field of art history yielded another major entry, as well. Frits Lugt (1884–1970), who had interned with Frederik Muller in Amsterdam, had settled in Paris amongst the many art dealers. His *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques*, of which the first volume appeared in 1938, proved to be an essential art historical reference work. It was not completed until 1987. Another major contribution was the publication of the *Haager Liederhandschrift*, an important manuscript in the Royal Library in The Hague. It was edited in 1940 by Wouter Nijhoff's friend Ernst F. Kossmann (1861–1945), a Russian-born, German-educated teacher of German literature in The Hague, whose book on the book trade history in The Hague had been published by Nijhoff in 1937.

When the war broke out in 1939, Nijhoff tried to keep its international business going as best as it could, but soon major shipping obstacles occurred. And when the Germans invaded the Netherlands in 1940, matters got worse. For a while, Nijhoff succeeded to ship to the United States by a variety of complicated routes, including Siberia, but that became ultimately impossible as well. Faced with sharply diminished business prospects, Wouter Nijhoff reduced the staff, but kept all his essential personnel on the payroll. A new 'sanitized' catalog of the German-language publications was issued. But the stock of the removed titles was carefully stored and hidden for the duration of the war in a barricaded part of the warehouse. The same was true for many other

vulnerable titles, including the remaining stock of Paul Gottschalk, whose nephew Ludwig Gottschalk had gone into hiding in the house of one of Nijhoff's staff members.⁹⁹ Wouter Nijhoff lost his comfortable private house to the German military officials and moved into a small apartment in the back of the office building.

With his active encouragement, the uniformly reliable staff became engaged in a variety of resistance activities, including the printing and distribution of underground literature. The Germans kept a watchful eye, and ultimately arrested several staff members, including Wouter Nijhoff Pzn. Three of these, including Ch.C. Dutilh and M. Westerbeek were condemned to death and subsequently executed. Wouter Nijhoff Pzn was convicted and sent to prison in 1944.¹⁰⁰ He spent the next six months in several Dutch concentration camps under difficult physical circumstances from which he never quite recovered. But he also made some new young friends, some of whom joined the company when the war was over. One of them was Hugo Brandt Corstius (1918–1998), who would take over the annual overseas trips and become the public face of the company in the United States, Canada, Australia and Japan. In the final months of the war, allied bombing threatened the area in which the company was located, but, while several historic buildings were destroyed, the Nijhoff offices remained unscathed.

When the war was over, a representative from the Library of Congress was quick to visit. It was with great pride that Nijhoff could announce that they had maintained many of the periodical subscriptions for their major American customers during the ordeal. During the war, Nijhoff had made a secret arrangement with several Paris booksellers, who collected and warehoused French periodicals. After the war, Nijhoff was able to use American army vehicles to transport the stock to The Hague for subsequent shipment to the United States.¹⁰¹

Almost complete collections of Dutch underground literature were supplied to the Library of Congress and the University of Michigan. In a proud message to Princeton University Press, whose publications Nijhoff had stocked before the war, Nijhoff stated that they had been ordered by the Germans to turn their stock over, but it was hidden and the account kept secret. The owed money was now being transferred,

⁹⁹ Buijnsters (2006); Bernard Rosenthal (1987).

¹⁰⁰ a.l.s. Wouter Nijhoff Pzn to William Warner Bishop, Univ. of Michigan Library, Sept. 11, 1945 (Univ. of Mich. Archives).

¹⁰¹ Scheler (1990).

with apologies for the poor exchange rate of the Dutch guilder.¹⁰² All Nijhoff operations resumed their normal activities soon afterward and when Wouter Nijhoff died in 1947, his successor Wouter Nijhoff Pzn and his staff were looking forward to a promising future.

E.J. Brill

Change never came quickly at E.J. Brill in Leiden, but 1934 was a turning point in many ways. The venerable printing, publishing and book-selling business had had only three generations of directors since the founding of the company in 1848. But when Corneille Peltenburg (1852–1934) retired in 1934 at the age of eighty-two, after a tenure of fifty-four years, thirty-three of which as director, the board was forced to take action. It recruited and hired the veteran book-man Theunis Folkers (1879–1950) away from Martinus Nijhoff, and he took charge quickly. In just a few years, he would re-activate and expand all aspects of the business.

Before Evert Jan Brill (1811–1871) founded the business carrying his name in 1848,¹⁰³ he had been apprenticed for eighteen years to the Leiden academic printers and booksellers, Luchtmans. That firm had been in business from 1683 until its closure in 1848, when Brill purchased several of their assets at auction to make a start for himself. With that move, Brill continued a Leiden printing tradition, which had its roots in 1577, when the Antwerp-born and trained Willem Sylvius (ca. 1520–1580) was appointed as the official printer and bookseller to the University of Leiden. He was succeeded in that position, albeit only for three years, by Christoffel Plantijn (1520–1589), also from Antwerp. Plantijn's son-in-law, the scholarly François van Raphelengen (1539–1597) then succeeded him in 1586. He also was appointed professor of Hebrew at the university. His presence in Leiden convinced the famous Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) to accept an appointment there, which was a major event in the university's development.

Oriental studies at the university became even more prominent with the appointment in 1613 of Thomas Erpenius (Thomas van Erpen) (1584–1624) as professor of Arabic. His early work, an Arabic grammar which would remain a classic for generations, was still printed by

¹⁰² *Publishers Weekly*, Dec. 1, 1945.

¹⁰³ Much of the information in this profile has been drawn from the following sources: Folkers (1941); van der Veen (2008).

van Raphelengen's son Christopher, but after the closure of his business in 1619, Erpenius took over much of the Hebrew, Syrian and Arabic type and established his own printing office where he carefully supervised the typesetting and corrections of several important works. After his death in 1624, the type and the printing office was sold to Isaac Elsevier (-1651), who also became the official university bookseller and printer.¹⁰⁴ Two generations of Elseviers continued in that role and acquired a world-wide fame for the quality of their scholarly books. They played a major role in the so-called Latin trade, the production and distribution throughout Europe of books, written in the universal scholarly and scientific language, Latin. But by the time the last descendent, Daniel Elsevier, died in 1712, the Elsevier reputation had dimmed considerably and other printers had taken the lead.

During the decline of the Elseviers, a young man with good academic connections by marriage, Jordaan Luchtmans (1652–1708), had established himself as a bookseller in Leiden in 1683. Soon he developed a solid reputation as a publisher of standard classical works. Oriental studies at the University of Leiden continued to play a major role and the acquisition of the significant Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac manuscript collection of Levinus Warner (1619–1665) had boosted scholarly activity even more. Warner had been the Dutch trade representative in Constantinople for many years.¹⁰⁵ Luchtman's son Samuel (1685–1757) published, as newly appointed university printer, an Arabic text *Vita Saladini* (1732), with Latin translations by Leiden professor, Albertus Schultens. Also on Samuel's list was the re-issue after more than a century of Thomas Erpenius's *Grammatica Arabica* (1748). Samuel and his two sons, Samuel (1725–1780) and Johannes (1726–1809), continued and expanded the operation of the Luchtmans house in close cooperation with the university faculty.¹⁰⁶ It would be the dominant Leiden international scholarly bookseller and publisher for over a century. As a result, the family also rose in social standing in Dutch society.

In 1806 Luchtmans appointed Johannes Brill (1767–1859) as manager. Brill, formerly in the employ of Prince Willem V, before his departure for England, had established himself as a printer in Leiden around 1800. He owned an extensive collection of Oriental type, the source of

¹⁰⁴ Davies (1954).

¹⁰⁵ Drewes (1970).

¹⁰⁶ Kanis (2002).

which is not known. Early on, he had done printing for the Luchtmans firm, when it needed to publish books on behalf of the Legatum Warnerianum in the Leiden University Library. By that time, the family was not much involved anymore in the daily business activities, so that, when Samuel Luchtmans III (1766–1812) died, Brill was put in charge of the firm, and he would remain so until its dissolution in 1848. He kept his own printing business active, but separate, during this period and he continued to publish under his own imprint. Representing the continuing family financial interests, the grandson of Johannes Luchtmans, the erudite Johannes T. Bodel Nijenhuis (1797–1872), joined the firm in 1821. His responsibilities in the company were focused on bibliographical and editorial contributions.

Under Brill's managerial leadership, the Luchtmans firm continued its significant publishing programs but also expanded its bookselling business by becoming a major auction house. Many a library of famous Leiden professors were sold that way. Evert Jan Brill joined his father as an apprentice at the Luchtmans firm in 1830, and during the next eighteen years, he became versatile in all aspects of the printing, publishing and bookselling business. In 1848, now at the age of seventy-nine, Johannes Brill decided to retire. With no Luchtmans family member able to succeed, the owners decided to liquidate. Evert Jan Brill stood to inherit the printing office from his father but he was greatly interested in continuing the publishing and bookselling business, although he did not have substantial means to do so. The book stock of the company was subsequently auctioned off in four parts. Fortunately for Brill, there was not too much outside competition, so he was able to purchase significant portions at reasonable prices. He then established his own business under his own name, but he clearly intended to follow closely the Luchtmans footsteps. He also was appointed as the official university printer.

In developing his own imprint, Brill used his previously developed contacts and actually continued several of the important Luchtmans publications. One of these was the papyri collection, *Monuments Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités du Pays-Bas*, in Leiden under the editorship of Conradus Leemans (1809–1893), and later by his successor, W. Pleyte (1836–1903), in five volumes, the first of which had appeared in 1839 and the last in 1905. Among the major new scholars Brill attracted were Reinhardt P.A. Dozy (1820–1883), whose *Histoire de Musulmans d'Espagne* (1861) soon became a standard work; Dozy's student and successor Michaël Jan de Goeje, whose major work

Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum began publication in 1870, and French-born Carel G. Cobet (1813–1889), who held the chair of Greek studies at Leiden, and founded the journal, *Mnemosyne*. *Bibliotheca Classica Batava*, which began publication in 1852 and continues today. Brill kept his focus on classical and oriental studies and geography. The University of Leiden's strong oriental programs became his long-term compass.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, he expanded the capabilities of his printing office by acquiring Chinese and Japanese type-fonts from his Leiden competitor Sijthoff, as well as several others in support of newer programs in Egyptology and Assyriology.

Brill's reputation grew steadily, but his specialized business was not very profitable. He decided to retire in 1871. Having no successors, he began to auction off his book stock, holding on, for the time being, to his oriental subjects and his printing business. He died before the transactions were completed. His estate was put up for sale and it was purchased in 1872 by Adriaan P.M. van Oordt (1840–1903). Van Oordt had a degree in theology from the University of Utrecht, but his source of money for the purchase is not known. He quickly convinced his long-time friend Frans de Stoppelaar (1841–1906), a high school teacher in Deventer, to join him in the new venture. Neither one had previous printing or publishing experience, but they understood the world of learning and ultimately proved to be good businessmen.

They decided not to change the name of the firm and quickly moved to establish their credibility in international academic circles based on Brill's reputation. Michaël Jan De Goeje was one of their main advisors. Under his leadership, a team of international scholars edited the disparate manuscripts of the ninth century Egyptian geographer, al-Tabari, and fifteen volumes of the so-called *Annals of Tabari* were published by Brill between 1879 and 1901. Although partially subsidized, it was a major capital investment. De Goeje was also instrumental in guiding an international group over many years in planning for the publication of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ultimately issued in four volumes in English, French and German editions under the initial editorship of Utrecht professor, Martijn Th. Houtsma (1851–1943) between 1913 and 1936. Another strong supporter was Gustaaf Schlegel (1840–1903), the first professor of Chinese in Leiden. Brill published his large Dutch-Chinese Dictionary between 1882 and 1891.

¹⁰⁷ Otterspeer (1989).

Schlegel also provided the contact with French sinologist, Henri Cordier (1849–1925). Together they became the founders of the first major international journal of East Asian studies, *T'oung Pao. Archives pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire, des langues, de la géographie et de l'ethnographie de l'Asie orientale*, which began in 1890 and is still a Brill flagship publication. The rising field of ethnography also yielded the prestigious new periodical, *International Archiv für Ethnographie*, which was published under the auspices of the Internationale Gesellschaft für Ethnographie and the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden in Leiden. It started publication in 1888 and continued until 1968.

In 1896, after a reorganization, the South-East Asian scholar, Cornelis Marinus Pleyte (1863–1917), was appointed as a director. He was succeeded in 1900 by Corneille Peltenburg (1852–1934), who had joined the firm already in 1888. In 1905, Brill hired the young Herman Egbert Kern (1879–1960), son of Brill author and Leiden professor Kern, to head its antiquarian department, but he left soon after disagreements on the company's direction, to continue his brilliant career at Martinus Nijhoff, where he had done an internship before.¹⁰⁸ Corneille Peltenburg took over the sole management in 1906 after the deaths of van Oordt and de Stoppelaar. Peltenburg's long tenure is marked by stability and continuing expansion.¹⁰⁹ Many of the projects started by his predecessors were continued or finished. But new significant projects were undertaken, as well. The German-Dutch zoologist Max W.C. Weber (1852–1937) was educated in Germany, and was appointed to the faculty of the University of Amsterdam in 1883. One of his great accomplishments was the organization of the so-called Siboga expedition to the Netherlands East Indies in 1899 and 1900. The reports, under Weber's editorship, began to be published in 1901 and were continued over the next several decades in numerous volumes. In similar fashion, Brill began to publish the results of several other scientific expeditions to Dutch New Guinea in 1905.

The rapidly developing American scholarship and university library market yielded both new publishing opportunities and profitable markets for older books and periodicals. The German ethnologist, Franz Boas (1858–1942), had accepted a professorship at Columbia in 1899. Thanks to his efforts, Brill became the publisher of two significant series: the *Memoirs of the Museum of Natural History* which started in

¹⁰⁸ Kern (1969).

¹⁰⁹ Wieder (1935).

1906, followed a year later by the *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*. For the American distribution of these volumes, Brill used the German-American bookseller and library supplier G.E. Stechert in New York. Brill also contracted with the German orientalist, Enno Littmann (1875–1958), who had joined the Princeton faculty in 1901, to start publishing the results of the *Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909* beginning in 1914.

Perhaps the most difficult years economically for Brill were the 1920's, culminating in the 1929 international financial crisis and its aftermath, which decreased the market for expensive scholarly publications and especially the antiquarian market. Yet, important projects continued. One of these was the fully subsidized publication, *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti* (1926–1951), in sixteen volumes, edited by Leiden University librarian, Frederick C. Wieder (1874–1943). Economic recovery began to take place in 1933 and several new projects were being considered. It is not surprising therefore, that Brill's board, still consisting of van Oordt and de Stoppelaar family members, was looking for new energy in the person of Theunis Folkers, when Peltenburg finally decided to retire in 1934. Folkers had started his career in publishing and bookselling early on. He joined the staff of Noordhoff in Groningen in 1896 at age sixteen and spent the next fourteen years there, learning all aspects of the trade.¹¹⁰ In 1914 he began in the employ of Martinus Nijhoff, publisher and bookseller of international repute in The Hague. His responsibilities grew steadily into a senior management position, while he worked in the antiquarian, as well as the publishing departments.¹¹¹ Neither Noordhoff, nor Nijhoff were printers, but Folkers worked closely with a number of printers during his tenure and undoubtedly understood the technology and the economy of that part of the business.

Folkers first priority was to pay attention to the antiquarian department, which had lagged in recent years. It was potentially the most profitable part of the business, and its income determined how much could be spent on publishing projects, where investments often had to wait for years to yield financial rewards, if ever, in some cases. He aggressively started rebuilding stock, and his international marketing efforts soon began to show improved results.

¹¹⁰ See Noordhoff profile in this book.

¹¹¹ See Martinus Nijhoff profile in this book.

There was much to do in the printing and publishing divisions, as well. Folkers appointed Frederick C. Wieder Jr. (1911–1987), who had joined the company in 1928, to lead the publishing division. He was the son of the Leiden University librarian and Brill author and board member. Several new projects had been started in the years past. Among them were the new periodical, *Archives Néerlandaises de Zoologie*, on behalf of the Dutch Zoological Society and the *Flora of Suriname*, a publication of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, and new volumes were forthcoming. One of Brill's earliest publications, *Mnemosyne*, was now continued under the new editorship of Bernard A. van Groningen (1894–), professor of classics in Leiden.

Following the long-standing publishing efforts on behalf of the earlier mentioned Siboga expedition, which was still continuing, the report of a new expedition to the Netherlands East Indies on the ship, H.M. Willibrord Snellius, in 1929–1930 began publication in 1933. In 1934 the fourth and last volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* came off the press and work started immediately on supplements, five of which were published between 1934 and 1938, now under the general editorship of Arent J. Wensinck. Folkers was instrumental in providing necessary funds to the Dutch scholarly society *Ex Oriente Lux*, which was devoted to Egyptian studies. Its yearbook had been started in 1933, but now a new multi-lingual periodical of the society's proceedings emerged.

A year later, in 1935 Brill was able to contract for a new important journal called *Acta Biotheoretica*. It was published under the auspices of the Prof. dr. Jan van der Hoeven Foundation for Theoretical Biology, and edited by Leiden biologist Cornelis Jakob van der Klaauw (1893–1972) and some of his colleagues, and was assisted by an international editorial board. It soon expanded with a number of supplementary series; *Folia Biotheoretica*, *Bibliotheca Biotheoretica*, and *Bibliographica Biotheoretica*. Another new Brill venture was the annual *Temminckia*. A *Journal of Systematic Zoology*, which began publication in 1936 under the editorship of Leiden professor Hilbrandt Boschma (1893–1976). Ever aware of the Leiden heritage, it was thus named after the famous Dutch zoologist Coenraad Jacob Temminck (1778–1858).

The final completion of the publication of the various New Guinea expeditions in eighteen volumes between 1905 and 1936, led to the decision to start an international multi-disciplinary journal, *Nova Guinea*, under the editorship of L. F. de Beaufort and other prominent scholars. The list of books on international exploration was expanded

by the publication of the research reports on the exploration of the Karakorum area in the Dutch East Indies by Philips Christiaan Visser, and later continued by his wife Jenny Visser-Hooft.

The International Institute for Social History was founded in 1935 in Amsterdam. The prime mover behind this was Nicolaas W. Posthumus (1880–1960), professor of economics in Amsterdam. Posthumus, understanding the importance of preserving primary resources for the study of social and economic history, had become a relentless archival collector. He had earlier founded the Netherlands Economic History Archive, which made an effort to acquire significant business archives. In his scope, he also included archives of individuals, as well as those of labor unions. Recognizing the potential fate of major social history resources under the totalitarian regimes in Germany and the Soviet Union, the newly founded institute dedicated itself to aggressively acquiring and preserving early and contemporary socialist archives from throughout Europe. Financial support for this ambitious venture was supplied by Nehemia de Lieme, director of a Dutch insurance company, De Centrale, which had close ties to the social democratic movement in the Netherlands.¹¹² Two of the Institute's publications, its *Bulletin* and the *International Review of Social History*, became Brill's. This also established close ties between Posthumus and Brill, which ultimately lead to the appointment of Posthumus as chairman of Brill's board in 1943.

Amsterdam also became the location of the newly founded International Archive for the Women's Movement in 1935. The founders were three remarkable Dutch feminists, Rosa Manus (1881–1943), Johanna Naber (1859–1941) and Willemijn Posthumus-van der Goot (1897–1989). Manus and Naber had been active participants in the international women's movement since 1915, and in many ways, this new International Archive, which included the extensive collection of books and manuscripts by Manus, was the crowning achievement of her work. Posthumus-van der Goot was married to Nicolaas Posthumus and shared his collecting passion and expertise. Indeed, the initial location of the Archive was in the International Institute for Social History. The yearbook of the International Archive became an annual Brill publication.¹¹³

¹¹² <http://www.iisg.nl/history.html>.

¹¹³ de Haan (2004).

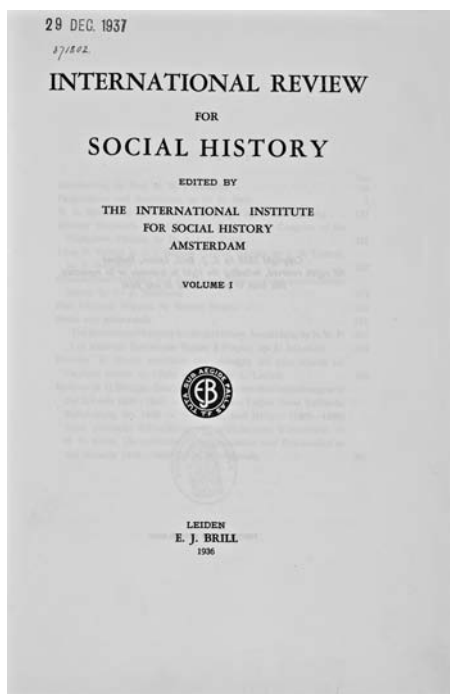


Fig. 13.

Folkers continued to take new publishing initiatives for Brill. Amsterdam was often the site of major international scientific conferences and, beginning with the International Botanical Congress in 1935, Brill subsequently printed and published the proceedings of the International Congress of Plant Breeders, the International Geographic Congress, and the International Gynecological Society. When the International Orientalist Congress was held in Brussels in 1938, Folkers clearly tried to flatter its chairman, the Belgian orientalist, Jean Capart (1877–1947), by publishing material on his behalf, but he did not succeed in getting the order for publishing the proceedings.¹¹⁴

Riding the waves of the strength of the Leiden faculty, Brill's focus on oriental studies was continuing unabated. In 1936 the first volume of the *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane* was completed after many years of preparation. Its editor was Arent Jan Wensinck

¹¹⁴ Louvain, Bureau du Muséon, 1940.

(1882–1939), professor of Hebrew in Leiden since 1912, who was also in charge of editing the supplement to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ultimately completed in eight volumes in 1968, the set is still one of the major reference works for Islamic studies. Two new volumes appeared under the auspices of the De Goeje Foundation in Leiden, which was continuing to publish additional Tabari material. Also continuing was the monumental edition of *The Manyôsu*, edited by Jan Lodewijk Pierson. Commemorative volumes were published in 1935 for the orientalist Enno Littmann, the editor of the Princeton expeditions and Paul Kahle of the University of Bonn.

Proudly, Brill produced in 1937 a new cumulative catalog of its oriental publications from 1683 onward and a year later the company demonstrated its specialized printing capacity with a carefully prepared catalog of its diverse type-fonts. Among other new initiatives in 1938 were two new series, *Bibliotheca Geographicum Arabicorum* and *Sinica Leidensis*. Several monographs were now issued as numbered supplements to the major periodicals, *T'oung Pao*, *Mnemosyne* and *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. This marketing method tied book sales to periodical subscriptions, which encouraged library sales world-wide.

By 1937, the impact of the rise of Nazi Germany began to be felt at Brill more directly. Benedikt Kautsky (1894–1960), an Austrian economist and journalist had strong left-wing ties. He and his famous father, the Austrian politician and journalist, Karl Kautsky (1854–1938), together had edited several of Karl Marx's works. They were not welcome in Germany. Through ties with the International Institute for Social History, Kautsky published a book on Viennese labor statistics with Brill. Benedikt Kautsky was arrested in Vienna in 1938, after the Nazis took over, and spent the next seven years in German concentration camps.¹¹⁵ His parents were able to flee to the Netherlands, where Karl Kautsky died shortly afterward.¹¹⁶

Another exiled author was Franz Rosenthal (1914–1972), a Jewish orientalist, who taught at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin until 1938. He was able to escape to Sweden and moved to the United States in 1940, where he continued his distinguished career at Yale. His Brill book on Aramaic history appeared in 1939. Egyptologist and historian of medicine, Robert Otto Steuer

¹¹⁵ Kautsky (1971).

¹¹⁶ Langkau-Alex (1986).

(1900–1961), published an Arabic text on incense with Brill in 1937. Steuer was able to move to the United States also, where he was employed at the Medical School of the University of California in San Francisco.¹¹⁷

Three other German scholars, each for their own reasons, turned to Brill for their next publication projects. Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956) had established his international reputation with the publication of his *Geschichte der Arabische Litteratur*, published in two volumes between 1898 and 1902.¹¹⁸ During his active career he taught at the Universities of Berlin, Halle and Breslau. Brockelmann was appointed as rector in Breslau in 1932. After a conflict with national socialist students, when he continued to protect law professor Ernst Joseph Cohn, who had supported Leo Trotsky's political asylum in Germany, Brockelmann, who was not Jewish, was removed from his position in April 1933, but was allowed to retire in 1935. After that Brockelmann moved back to Halle, where he used the resources of the Morgenländische Bibliothek to continue his research. Brockelmann had been one of the editors of Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien Muhammeds* (Brill 1904–1940). Although there were no political barriers to his continued publishing in Germany,¹¹⁹ he turned to Brill for the publication of the long-awaited supplement to his standard history of Arabic literature. That supplement appeared in three volumes between 1936 and 1942. Brill apparently had enough stock of the earlier two volumes to offer it for sale at a discount for subscribers to the supplements. But when that stock was depleted, Brill began publication of a second edition of the main work, the first volume of which was published in 1943 and completed in 1949. Brockelmann would remain a loyal Brill author until his death in 1956.

Sigmund Feist (1865–1943) was Jewish and his academic field was Germanic linguistics. He received his doctorate in 1888 from the University of Strassburg and taught in high school for several years, before he was appointed as the director of the major Jewish Reichenheimischer orphanage in Berlin in 1906. His life-time research topic was old Gothic, and the first edition of what would become his major

¹¹⁷ Brill also published a historical novel by his wife Raphaëla Steuer in the same year, undoubtedly the first and the last of that genre on the Brill list!

¹¹⁸ Fuck (1957).

¹¹⁹ In 1941 Brockelmann published his eleventh edition of the standard Arabic grammar with Otto Harrassowitz in Leipzig.

etymological dictionary was published in 1909. At that time he was also the editor of the much respected annual bibliography of Germanic philology. The second edition of his dictionary appeared in 1923. Conflicts with several of his German colleagues, which had intense anti-semitic undertones, about the development of the German language, led to his dismissal from his editorial post in 1930. He retired from his orphanage directorship in 1935 and was able to flee at the age of seventy-four to Denmark in 1939, where he died of natural causes a few years later. His wife survived the war after her subsequent escape to Sweden.¹²⁰ Feist came to Brill in 1936 for the publication of the third edition of his standard work, now called *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*. It would have been impossible to publish it in Germany. The book was issued in parts and was completed in 1939.



Fig. 14.

¹²⁰ Römer (1981).

The third major author to be added to the Brill list was Felix Jacoby (1876–1956). Jacoby, who was Jewish, had taught at the University of Kiel until his forced retirement in 1935.¹²¹ In 1939 he went to England, where he was appointed at Oxford. He spent the remaining years of his career there. The first two volumes of his monumental *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* had been published by Weidmann in Berlin between 1923 and 1930. The third volume began publication by Brill in 1940 and was ultimately completed in 1958. It is still an indispensable standard work.

When the Germans invaded the Netherlands in May 1940, Brill's publishing program was in full gear, and, at least initially, the various projects were being continued. A Sanskrit medical text, edited and translated into German by Luise Hilgenberg was completed in 1941. In the same year, J. Gonda published a Sanskrit grammar. After years of preparation by the recently deceased Arent J. Wensinck, the *Handwörterbuch des Islams* appeared, edited by J.H. Kramers. Of note is also the voluminous *Manual of Agricultural Helminthology* by Ivan M. Filipev, translated from the Russian. A new initiative was the series *Papyrologica Lugduno Batava*, under the sponsorship of the Papyrological Institute at Leiden University. Among the editors was the German-born David Martin (1898–1986), fired from the University of Leipzig in 1933, and since 1937 professor of Semitic, Hellenic and Jewish legal history at Leiden. Brill had published a commemorative volume for his Leipzig dissertation chair Paul Koschaker in 1939.

Soon, however, the continuing impact of the war began to be felt. The loss of the European market was devastating for an international concern. For a while Brill managed to keep some of its American printing contacts, such as the Princeton expedition and the *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*, but that came to an end with the American entry into the war. Paper shortages became a major issue as well. Folkers had to make a special effort to acquire enough paper for the edition of the Arabic text *Halsband der Taube*, edited by Max Weisweiler. He succeeded and the book sold well under the circumstances. A second edition actually followed in 1944. Despite these obstacles several more new books were published during most of the years of the German occupation.

But it became clear that only the German market would support Brill's efforts. With printing and publishing income dropping, Folkers

¹²¹ Theiler (1960).

tried to concentrate on the antiquarian book business. By actively buying at auctions and making offers to German libraries, he managed to keep the operation of the company going despite the adversity. Business even boomed somewhat after the allied bombing destroyed several German libraries, and they tried to rebuild their stock.

In his zeal to protect the interests of Brill's stockholders and its staff, Folkers did overstep several professional and ethical boundaries.¹²² When the shop of the Jewish antiquarian booksellers, S. Israel in Amsterdam, was closed by the German police in 1941 and put under Nazi control, Folkers was awaiting shipment of several books he had ordered from their latest catalog on behalf of German libraries. When learning of the closure Folkers successfully appealed to the police to let him into the shop to pick up his parcels himself. Brill did pay the brothers Max and Salomo Israel, who were already in hiding in Arnhem, however. When asked to print a German-Russian dictionary and an interrogation manual by the Dutch Nazi publisher Westland on behalf of the German army, he complied. His frequent visits to Germany and the entertainment of German librarians in Leiden raised concern among some of his staff and his competitors.

Meanwhile, Folkers, with his board's knowledge, had set up a set of separate and secret accounts. From these funds, Brill paid for salary supplements and occasional food supplies for the staff. Folkers also contributed financially to efforts to support families of fired Leiden professors as well as those in German concentration camps.

After the liberation of Holland, complaints were filed against Folkers by members of the Dutch book trade and the survivors of the Israel family. Folkers was incarcerated together with hundreds of others accused as war profiteers and collaborators. A lengthy investigation took place during which Folkers and many witnesses testified. Several Leiden faculty members supported Folkers, among them the Jewish Brill author David Martin, who had survived his stay in the concentration camp Theresienstadt. At the end, the decision was made that Folkers was not allowed to play a role in the book trade for a period of two years. Folkers, who had been paid his regular salary by Brill during his confinement, was released and agreed to retire with his full pension. He was by then seventy-three years old. Chairman of the Brill

¹²² Most of the information in this section was derived from archival sources in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. Inv. nrs.: 91084, 77308, 109918. See also van der Veen (2008).

board since 1943, professor Nicolaas W. Posthumus, was appointed as president, and Brill resumed its international printing, publishing and bookselling programs with renewed vigor.

Chronica Botanica

Frans Verdoorn (1906–1984) received his degree in biology from the University of Utrecht in 1933. Shortly afterward, he established his own publishing company, *Chronica Botanica* in Leiden. But he was no newcomer to biology or publishing. Already in high school, he created a bryological and hepatological herbarium and a botanical library. He began an elaborate correspondence with bryologists around the world and started to publish some of his findings in Dutch journals. In 1927, Verdoorn entered the University of Utrecht and began his studies with Friedrich A.F.C. Went (1863–1935), professor of botany and the director of the Utrecht Botanical Garden. In the same year he was elected a foreign member of the British Bryological Society. Verdoorn also signed a contract with Martinus Nijhoff in The Hague, to start a new scholarly publication, *Annales Bryologici. A Yearbook devoted to the Study of Mosses and Hepatics*.¹²³ It certainly was unusual for Nijhoff to enter into such an arrangement with a beginning student. But Verdoorn had already established a considerable national and international credibility and he surrounded himself with some of the best researchers in the field.

Beginning in 1928, Verdoorn traveled extensively in Europe, with repeated study visits to Vienna and Geneva and was able to get financial support for an extended study and collecting trip to Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The results were published as a supplementary volume to his journal and in other publications. In 1932 Verdoorn edited the *Manual of Bryology*, a comprehensive accumulation of modern research in the field.

After *Chronica Botanica* was founded, Verdoorn married fellow biologist Johanna G. Hunik, who would remain his associate in his research and entrepreneurial ventures throughout his life. In 1934 Verdoorn received his doctorate from Utrecht and he initiated an annual questionnaire to be distributed amongst the 3,500 plant science institutions and societies around the world.¹²⁴ The results were

¹²³ Gradstein (1986).

¹²⁴ Sanders (1970).

published in his new annual series *Chronica Botanica*, of which five volumes were published between 1935 and 1939. In 1938 it became a bi-monthly, with the subtitle *International Plant Science Newsmagazine*.

In the same year Verdoorn started a new project, which demonstrated his interest in plant science as a major general discipline. His *New series of plant science books* was launched. Five substantial books were published in the next two years. Most of them were in English written by experts in their fields. One German title *Experimentelle Cytologie* was included, written by Hans Heinrich Pfeiffer, professor at Bremen.

In 1939, Verdoorn received an appointment at the Buitenzorg Botanical Gardens in the Netherlands East Indies. But he decided to move to the U.S.A. instead. In early 1940 with his wife, *Chronica Botanica*, herbarium and library he settled in Waltham, M.A. He subsequently received an appointment as a honorary research associate at Harvard. In the United States Verdoorn continued his multiple

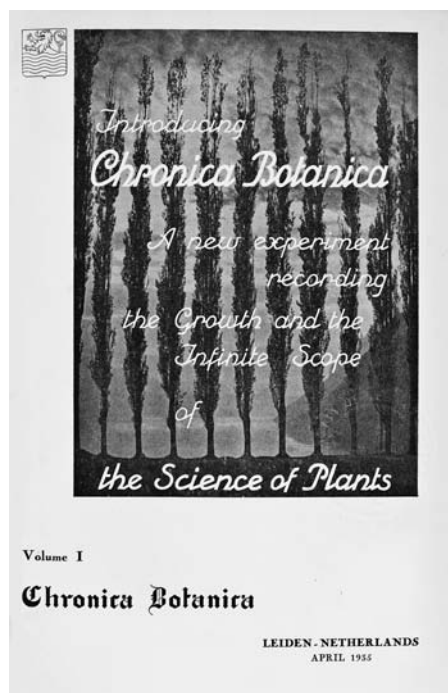


Fig. 15.

activities. In 1944 he started a new series, *Annales cryptogamici et phytopathologici*. It would include eleven volumes. He also continued his plant science texts, of which in due time some thirty volumes appeared. When Verdoorn accepted an appointment at the University of Utrecht in 1958, he returned to the Netherlands for good. *Chronica Botanica* was sold to Ronald Press in New York, now owned by John Wiley and Sons.

Wilhelm Junk

In 1934 Wilhelm Junk (1866–1942) moved his antiquarian bookselling and publishing company from Berlin to The Hague, becoming the second German company to move abroad. Two shipments, totaling 120.00 kilo, brought his books to their new location. Although he was much in disagreement with the current political situation in Germany, it was as much the newly imposed currency restrictions that prompted his move to Holland. Much of Junk's business, buying and selling old books and periodicals, was international and he chose Holland because of its liberal fiscal policies.¹²⁵

Wilhelm Junk was born in a Jewish family named Jeitteles in Prague in 1866 where his father was a pharmacist. Several generations had preceded him in this profession. But Wilhelm chose differently. After finishing school, he joined his uncle, Dr. Julius Franz, in R. Friedländer's Antiquariat in Berlin and learned the book trade there. During that time he also edited the company's house organ *Naturae Novitates*, which gave him the taste of bibliography and scholarly precision, two life-long afflictions. In 1890 he formally changed his last name to Junk.

After his uncle's death and completion of his military service in Prague, Junk decided to go his own way and founded his bookselling firm in 1899 in Berlin. From the start he was interested in starting a scientific publishing program. Among his early publications were the periodicals *Laboratorium und Museum* (1899–1903) and its continuation *Bibliographische Zeitschrift für Naturwissenschaften und Mathematik* (1903–1910). One of his early major acquisitions was the personal library of the bryologist Karl Müller, which contained full runs of the major botanical periodicals of the time. During World War I, a difficult time for all the German book trade, especially after

¹²⁵ Junk (1949).

the export to the U.S. was impossible, he sold most of his scientific stock to Norway¹²⁶ and concentrated afterward on botany and especially entomology. His antiquarian department produced over one hundred specialized catalogs, which today still are very valuable. Junk also continued his publishing program with major catalogs and bibliographical tools, such as *Coleopterum Catalogus*, which, when it was completed between 1910 and 1940 in thirty-one volumes, contained detailed descriptions of some two hundred and fifty thousand known species of beetles. In similar fashion he published *Fossilium Catalogus* (1911–1941), *Lepidopterorum Catalogus* (1911–1939) and several others. In 1925 he started the series *Tabulae Biologicae*, which reviewed the major new developments in various branches of biology. Off-prints of the individual articles were much in demand and were sold separately. Following his own interests, Junk devoted himself to research on Carl Linné and the art of bibliophile editions.

When Junk arrived in The Hague with his books, he had not come alone. With him came his wife Elli (1875–1942) and his family. Among them were their daughters Stephanie and Irma-Marie, who was married to Walter W. Weisbach in 1920. A daughter, Ingeborg was born a year later. Weisbach (1889–1962) actually was already in Holland. He had been professor of hygiene at the University of Halle since 1926 and published widely but because of his Jewish ancestry he was forced to leave his position. At the timely invitation of the University of Utrecht, Weisbach spent the next three years there, developing a museum of hygiene.

Shortly after settling in, Junk decided to sell his antiquarian department to Otto Liebstaedter (1900–1969) and Rudolph Schierenberg (1900–1991). Liebstaedter had been the director of the prominent Berlin firm of A. Ascher & Co., when he fled to Holland in 1933. Schierenberg also had emigrated from Germany.

Junk from then on concentrated solely on publishing. In 1937, Walter Weisbach became ‘fellow-proprietor’. Under the new leadership of Weisbach, a major new periodical, *Enzymologia*, was started in 1936. Carl Oppenheimer (1874–1941), a distinguished biochemist, who had served earlier as the editor of the *Zentralblatt für die Gesamte Biologie*, was the editor and it had a large international advisory board. The new journal was an immediate success and attracted many of the leading

¹²⁶ The collection was ultimately acquired by the John Crerar Library in Chicago for \$100,000.00. Bay (1945) p.112.

biochemists of the world.¹²⁷ Eight volumes were issued until 1940. Another new publishing initiative was the journal *Mycopathologia* (1938). Edited by R. Ciferri (Florence) and P. Redaelli (Pavia), and supported by an international board, this new quarterly journal was devoted to human and comparative mycology and mycopathology. The annual *Documenta Ophthalmologica*, edited by J. Schäfer also had an international editorial board. It published longer articles and short monographs on new advances in the field.

But the book production increased as well. Carl Oppenheimer's *Einführung in die allgemeine Biochemie* had been published by Sijthoff in 1936, but Junk published two major books by the author: *Die Fermente und ihre Wirkungen* in three volumes (1936–39). It was a supplement to the author's earlier work, which had gone through five editions before 1925. Oppenheimer, who had moved to Holland in

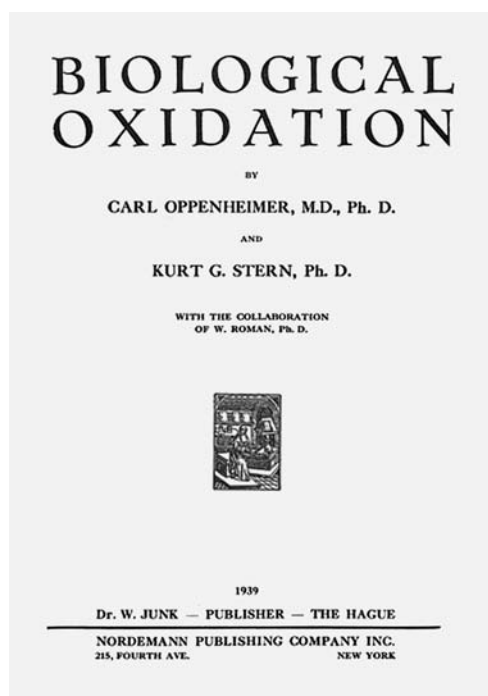


Fig. 16.

¹²⁷ Slater (1986).

1938, also wrote an English-language book, *Biological Oxidation*, co-authored with Kurt Stern and W. Roman.

Making use of its many international connections, Junk also was the world-distributor of several new periodicals, notably the *Revue Française d'entomologie*, published by the Laboratoire d'Entomologie du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (vol. 1–7, 1934–1940) and the *Palestine journal of botany and horticultural science* edited by H.R. Oppenheimer (vol. 1, three parts, 1935–1937).

The company proudly produced their catalog of publications in 1939 on its fortieth anniversary. Wilhelm Junk by this time was seventy-three years old. In the same year, he started writing a series of essays on the antiquarian book trade, summarizing his fifty year career as a bookseller.¹²⁸

In 1939, the prominent German entomologist Friedrich Simon Bodenheimer (1879–1959), who had moved to Palestine in 1922, submitted an important manuscript, *Citrus Entomology in the Middle East*. The extensive drawings arrived a few months after the German invasion of Holland. Junk, realizing that the book could not be published at the time, asked neighbors to hide the manuscript, which they did. After the war, the manuscript was returned and the book, completely revised, was published in 1951.¹²⁹

The German occupation also brought an end to Oppenheimer's editorship of *Enzymologia*. He invited Hendrik G.K. Westenbrink (1901–1964) to take over that role.¹³⁰ Oppenheimer continued to advise until his natural death in 1941. Westenbrink then asked the Danish biologist K. Linderstrom-Lang to become co-editor. However, tragedy struck. Walter Weisbach and his wife Irma were sent to the Dutch concentration camp Westerbork in 1942. When the Gestapo came to arrest Wilhelm Junk and his wife in December of 1942, the couple committed suicide. Despite the numerous operational and financial problems caused by the occupation and the absence of the company's leadership, the decimated Junk staff managed the continued appearance of *Enzymologia* throughout the war years.

In 1944 Weisbach and his wife were sent to the concentration camp Theresienstadt, from which they were liberated. Together with his wife and daughter, Weisbach managed to resurrect the publishing house in

¹²⁸ Junk (1949).

¹²⁹ Harpaz (1984).

¹³⁰ Steyn-Parvé (1965).

The Hague after 1945. Junk became a leading international publishing company, broadening its list eventually to the life sciences.¹³¹

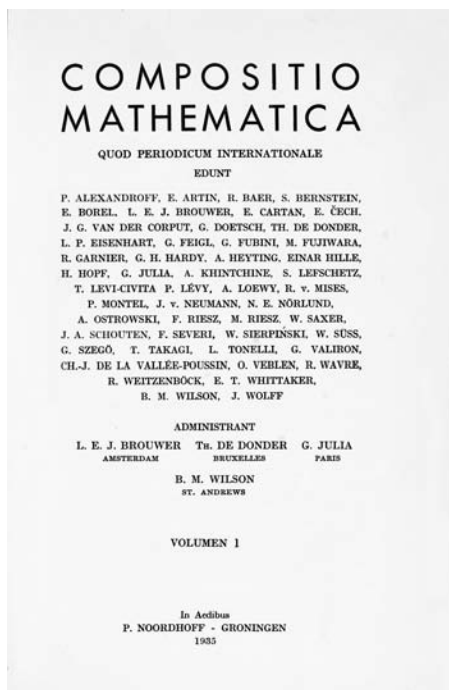


Fig. 17.

Noordhoff

In January 1934 a new international mathematical journal, *Compositio Mathematica. Quod Periodicum Internationale*, was founded in the Netherlands. Its chief editors were L.E.J. Brouwer (Amsterdam), Th. de Donder (Brussels), G. Julia (Paris) and B. M. Wilson (St. Andrews), and they were supported by a large and prominent international editorial board. Its publisher was P. Noordhoff in Groningen.

The founding of the journal was the result of a serious conflict between differing schools of thought in mathematics and their

¹³¹ Junk (1959).

respective practitioners, that had surfaced as early as 1928.¹³² At the heart of the conflict were the professional and personal differences between David Hilbert (1862–1943) of the University of Göttingen and senior editor of the *Mathematische Annalen* (Springer) and Luitzen E.J. Brouwer (1881–1966) of the University of Amsterdam, who had served as an active member of the editorial board of that same journal since 1915. The *Mathematische Annalen* was considered the leading international mathematical journal at the time. Founded in 1868 by A. Clebsch and C. Neumann, the journal developed its reputation under the leadership of Felix Klein (1849–1925) of the University of Göttingen who was succeeded as editor by his former student Hilbert in 1913. Among the other editors were Albert Einstein, Otto Blumenthal, Harald Bohr and Richard Courant. Hilbert was closely associated with the formalist school of mathematics, and Brouwer was a strong adherent of the intuitionist movement. These differences did not interfere initially with their mutual respect, however. Hilbert supported Brouwer in his appointment to the chair in Amsterdam in 1912 and for many years their relationship was cordial. In 1919 Brouwer was actually offered a chair in Göttingen, a prestigious appointment indeed, but he decided to stay at the University of Amsterdam. After the end of World War I, Brouwer became a forceful, and sometimes emotional voice, against the international boycott of German scientists. He once tried to exclude some French proponents of the boycott from participating in a Riemann memorial volume, which invoked the wrath of Hilbert, who preferred a more tolerant position to the injustices against German scientists. Another clash came in 1928, when Brouwer pleaded for a boycott of an international conference in Bologna, in which, in his view, German mathematicians were being slighted. Hilbert disagreed once again and even took a sizable German delegation with him to participate.

The personality and professional clash reached its culmination in Hilbert's attempt to remove Brouwer from the editorial board in 1928, a move which ultimately succeeded. But it split the scientific community badly, not to mention the personal loyalties of many friends and colleagues who were inadvertently drawn into the conflict.

Needless to say, Brouwer was deeply wounded by the affair and he decided to retaliate. In 1929 he began negotiations with a Groningen-based publisher P. Noordhoff, with the intent to start a competing

¹³² van Dalen (1990).

journal. Noordhoff proved to be a fortuitous choice. Founded in 1833 as a bookstore by Popko Noordhoff, the first publishing efforts began in 1859. Initially publishing religious books and periodicals, Noordhoff added schoolbooks to his growing list in 1864. Succeeding his father in 1903, Jaap Noordhoff, who had developed an international interest, would lead the company until 1936. In 1920 the bookselling part of the business had been sold and, as solely a publishing company, it rapidly developed its list, which included German, French and English grammars and readers and a series of mathematics texts widely used in Dutch schools. Mathematics teacher Pieter Wijdenes (1872–1972) served as author and editor. Noordhoff also had begun to publish graduate texts as well as several scientific periodicals, *Nieuw tijdschrift voor wiskunde* (1914–1945), *Christiaan Huygens* (1922–1940) and *Revue semestrielle des publications mathématiques* (1892–1934).¹³³

Wijdenes initially served as the go-between for Noordhoff and Brouwer and agreement about the new journal was soon reached. *Compositio Mathematica* was to have five editors and a large, truly international editorial board representing thirteen different countries. But the take-over by the Nazis in Germany caused serious dilemmas for Brouwer, because many prominent mathematicians, often Jewish, had been fired and gone into exile. Brouwer appointed several of them to his board. Several remaining mathematicians were now actively serving Nazi causes, among whom was the former co-editor of the *Mathematische Annalen*, Ludwig Bieberbach (1883–1982), who had originally supported Brouwer in his conflict with Hilbert. But Brouwer would not yield to Bieberbach's subsequent request to remove Jewish mathematicians from his board and the latter then refused to serve. Other Germans, however, did want to participate, but Bieberbach succeeded in convincing the Nazi government that *Compositia Mathematica* was to be blacklisted, because of its close connection to exiled Jewish German mathematicians. This then effectively meant the end of German participation in the journal.

While Brouwer was nominally in charge of the new journal, the day-to-day affairs were handled by Hans Freudenthal (1905–1990), a German-born and educated Jewish mathematician, who had moved to Amsterdam in 1930 to become Brouwer's assistant. The journal was successful in terms of the quality of the papers as well as sales and

¹³³ de Groot (1992).

between 1934 and 1940, seven volumes were completed. The German occupation of the Netherlands in May 1940 effectively closed down the operation.¹³⁴ The journal was revived in 1951 and continues today.¹³⁵

Noordhoff's foreign language book list during the period from 1933 to 1945 was marked by mathematics texts, with some dissertations and other books mixed in. One of the early contributions was the inaugural lecture by Hugo Sinzheimer (1875–1945). Sinzheimer was a pioneering practitioner and scholar in the field of labor law in Germany, who taught at the University of Frankfurt. He was Jewish and was quickly fired from his position in 1933. The University of Amsterdam did not hesitate and added this celebrated scholar to its faculty, where he served with distinction until the German invasion in 1940. Sinzheimer went into hiding and survived the ordeal, but died shortly afterward. Today, the Sinzheimer Institute is an active part of the law faculty at Amsterdam.

Another equally famous exile entered the Noordhoff list in 1934. Edmund Landau (1877–1938) was mathematics professor at the University of Göttingen since 1909. His specialty was numbers theory and he was widely published. After the Nazis came to power, Landau, who was Jewish, was subject to a student boycott, and he ultimately was allowed to go on leave to teach at the University of Groningen. He was allowed to retire in 1934 and moved back to Berlin. He visited and lectured at Groningen intermittently until his natural death in 1938.

The year 1935 saw the publication of works by four important Dutch scholars, all from different backgrounds. Etsko Kruisinga (1874–1944), a linguist, was active both in English as well as in German-language studies. He was the co-editor since 1920 of the journal *English Studies*, published by Swets and Zeitlinger in Amsterdam, he taught for some time at the University of Utrecht and became the director of the School of Language and Literature in The Hague, where he served until his natural death in 1944. His Noordhoff book *Einführung in die Deutsche Syntax* became an immediate standard work with international acclaim. Noordhoff also became the publisher of Kruisinga's English grammar and other texts.

Mathematician Jan Schouten (1883–1971) was professor at the Technical University of Delft since 1914. He had published his

¹³⁴ van Dalen (1999).

¹³⁵ It is published by the London Mathematical Association for the Dutch-based Compositio Mathematica Foundation.

Einführung in die Neuere Methoden der Differentialgeometrie with Noordhoff in 1924. The new edition, extensively revised and enlarged was published in 1935. The second volume was written by Dirk Jan Struik (1894–2000). Struik had served as research assistant to Schouten while doing his dissertation research, after which he spent time in Göttingen with Richard Courant and Felix Klein. In 1926 he was appointed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.) in Cambridge MA., where he would spend the rest of his brilliant career.

The third star on Noordhoff's list that year was Johan J. van Laar (1860–1938). A former naval officer, he became a leading mathematical chemist. He taught briefly at the University of Amsterdam, before moving permanently to Switzerland in 1912 for health reasons. From there his numerous papers and books established his international reputation. The book published by Noordhoff came at the end of his career, but it nevertheless was a significant contribution.¹³⁶

Last, but not least, came the mathematician M. Johannes van Uven (1878–1959). Van Uven, who in 1916 had published a significant book with Groningen astronomer J.C. Kapteyn (1851–1922),¹³⁷ was professor at the Agricultural University in Wageningen in the Netherlands. His important Noordhoff book on applied statistics was widely distributed and went through a second edition in 1946.

In 1939, Noordhoff published another significant book in the field of mathematics. Václav Hlavatý (1894–1969) was a Czechoslovak mathematician and professor at the Charles University in Prague between 1930 and 1948. In a German translation by his colleague Max Pinl, his book on differential geometry was considered a milestone. Hlavatý had done postgraduate work in the Netherlands and he knew Schouten and had worked for a year with Albert Einstein in Princeton. In 1945, Noordhoff published another of his books, which was promptly translated into English. By 1948, Hlavatý was in the United States, teaching at Indiana University, where he worked.¹³⁸ He had served in the Czechoslovak parliament in 1947, but when he refused to sign the communist loyalty oath, he was forced to leave the country.

During the war, many of the activities at Noordhoff slowed down, but one small, but important, book was published in 1944.

¹³⁶ Jorissen (1938).

¹³⁷ Hertzsprung-Kapteyn (1993).

¹³⁸ His papers are in the Lilly Library of the University of Indiana.

It was written by Albert Gloden (1901–1966), a mathematician from Luxembourg. It was a German translation of his 1938 contribution on numbers theory. The preface, unchanged, was written by Russian-born Belgian mathematician Maurice Kraitchik (1882–1957), who had fled Belgium when the Germans arrived and was teaching at the New School in New York.

Elsevier

Johannes Pieter (Ted) Klautz (1904–) was appointed co-director of Elsevier, an established trade publishing company in Amsterdam, in 1933. Soon, he chimed in to the debate among Dutch publishers and booksellers on the merit of the emerging German-language exile press in the Netherlands. He joined those, who did not feel that it was such a good thing that German literature received so much public attention: “Do Dutch authors now need to publish in German in order to be read?”, he was quoted.¹³⁹ Three years later, in 1937, Klautz had changed his mind, and Elsevier joined the ranks of the German exile publishers in the Netherlands.

Klautz, a fledgling journalist and avid sportsman, had joined the company in 1927, as secretary to Herman J. Robbers (1868–1937), who had succeeded his father, Jacobus (Koos) G. Robbers (1838–1925), the founder of the company, as director in 1918. Serving as the other director at the time was his nephew, John Robbers (1895–1971), son of Jacobus C. Robbers Jr. (1872–1927).

Jac. G. Robbers had started a bookstore under his own name in 1860 in Rotterdam.¹⁴⁰ He soon expanded his activities as an importer of English books for the Dutch book trade and he ventured into publishing as well, acquiring the popular and profitable line of Jules Verne novels. In 1872 he sold his retail store and concentrated on importing and publishing. Seeking new publishing opportunities and outside capital to support his plans, he and four enterprising colleagues incorporated the ‘Maatschappij Elsevier’ in Rotterdam in 1880 with a starting capital of dfl. 100,000. They were G.L. Funke (1837–1885), founder of the newspaper *Nieuws van de Dag* in Amsterdam, J.H. de Groot,

¹³⁹ *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel*, Oct. 12, 1934, pp. 682–683, quoting *De Telegraaf*.

¹⁴⁰ Much of the information on the early history of the company has been derived from the unpublished draft of Floris B. Bakels, *De geschiedenis der N.V. Uitgeversmaatschappij Elsevier 1880–1980*.

co-founder with A. Sijthoff of the *Haagsche Courant*, Gualtherus Kolff (1826–1881) from Leiden, founder of the newspaper *De Locomotief* in Batavia, Dutch East Indies, where he also owned the bookstore and publishing company G. Kolff & Co., and K.H. Schad (1841–1913), a bookseller in Amsterdam. Robbers became the managing director, while the others served on the board.

The choice of the name Elsevier proved to be fortuitous. The last of the great Dutch seventeenth century scholarly printers and publishers family, Daniel Elsevier, had died in 1712 and the name was discontinued and not protected. But the Elsevier name remained well-known throughout Europe and it gave the new company instant recognition and respect.¹⁴¹

The initial mode of operation of the new company was to buy publication rights of existing books either at auction or directly from the previous publisher. Robbers had already used this technique in acquiring the rights for the Jules Verne novels, which he brought into the new company. Now he added the books of another Frenchman, Gustav Aimard (1818–1883) (pseudonym of Olivier Gloux), whose adventure novels about North American Indians were very popular. He also bought the rights of several prominent Dutch writers, such as Multatuli (pseudonym of Eduard Douwes Dekker), P.A. De Genestet, J.P. Heye and W.J. van Zeggelen. In 1881, he acquired at an auction the rights of the *Winkler Prins Geïllustreerde Encyclopaedie*, compiled by A. Winkler Prins and published between 1870 and 1882 by C.L. Brinkman in sixteen volumes. This encyclopedia, published by Elsevier in its many subsequent editions, would prove to be the financial barometer of the company well into the twentieth century. Robbers had a good eye for quality, produced his books with considerable care and was reportedly a relentless salesman, as well as an innovative marketer. He therefore succeeded where others had failed.

In addition to his new Elsevier duties, Robbers continued to operate his own importing business, while occasionally publishing titles under his own imprint as well. In 1887, he personally acquired the assets of the long-established Amsterdam importer of French, Italian and Spanish books, Feikema & Caarelsen. As a result, the decision was made to move the Elsevier business to Amsterdam as well. In 1890

¹⁴¹ Occasional efforts by later Elsevier managers to wrap themselves into the famous family mantle appear somewhat disingenuous, however.

Robbers' oldest son Cornelis Henri (1865–1913) joined his father to take charge of the import businesses. To further strengthen the Elsevier image among Dutch readers, the company decided to start a new monthly magazine. Partially modeled on the immensely successful American *Harper's Weekly*, Elsevier's *Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* was introduced in 1891. Its content consisted of original Dutch short stories, excerpts from novels, essays and poetry, with copious illustrations by Dutch artists. It was well received by the public and its subscription income provided a welcome steady money supply. Elsevier now also added a series of dictionaries to its line of reference works. Two more sons of Robbers joined their father. In 1897, J.C. Robbers Jr. (1872–1927) was appointed assistant secretary, while Herman J. Robbers (1868–1937) became the long-term editor of the new monthly magazine.¹⁴²

Among the new ventures undertaken were a series of important art books, a subject of great personal interest to Robbers. The most important author and advisor was Max Rooses (1839–1914), who was director of the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp and an established authority on Flemish art. Four books were published between 1901 and 1909, among which were richly illustrated biographies of Pieter Paul Rubens and Jacob Jordaans. All four were produced in Dutch, French, German and English. A survey volume, *De schilderkunst van 1400–1800* (1907–1908), also appeared in Italian, Russian and Swedish editions. Another illustrated volume, *De levende dieren der wereld* (1903), also appeared in a French edition. These co-productions, were possible because of the extensive international contacts that Robbers had built over the years. They were also quite profitable and were a mainstay of regular income for many years.

Robbers decide to retire in 1906. He was sixty-eight years old and entrusted the continuation of the company to his sons. However, when his son Cornelis died in 1913, he returned as director until 1918, after which he continued to serve as chairman of the board until 1925. The war years were difficult for all publishers with international programs and Elsevier, as well as the two other Robbers import companies, suffered significantly. The three companies were formally united in 1918. Jac. G. Robbers Jr. took over as the managing director. John Robbers (1895–1971), son of the late Cornelis, the third family generation,

¹⁴² Herman Robbers was a successful novelist in his own right. His books, however, were all published under the Jac. C. Robbers family owned imprint.

joined the company, and as director of the import business was appointed yet another family member, J. F. Beyers, the brother-in-law of Cornelis H. Robbers. The post-war years were still difficult and business did not get much better in the 1920's. Jac. G. Robbers Jr. retired in 1927 and his brother Herman and nephew John were put in charge. Given his own literary career, Herman was reluctant to commit himself full-time and he recruited young J.P. Klautz in the same year, in the hope to bring new energy into the slumping Elsevier business. Four years later, when Herman Robbers retired, Klautz was ready to do so. He took charge of the editorial department, while his partner, John Robbers, occupied himself with the administrative side of the business.

Of immediate concern was the planned fifth edition of the *Winkler Prins Encyclopaedia*. As chief editor was appointed Jan de Vries, professor at the University of Amsterdam, while as an important innovation two Belgian editors, J. Verschueren and August Vermeylen, were appointed, to broaden the encyclopedia's appeal in Flemish Belgium. The sixteen volumes were produced, as planned, between 1932 and 1938. Several new novels, among them a successful first entree by M. H. Székely-Lulofs, contributed to a more promising future, but Klautz became convinced that there was not enough room in the Dutch-language territory alone for expansion.

In 1936, Klautz met with Paul Dienstag, an exiled German lawyer, who had started a literary agency, the International Trust Company, in Amsterdam. He represented several Jewish German scholarly authors, who could no longer be published in Germany. Intrigued with the idea, Klautz traveled to Germany, Austria and Switzerland, and on return, he reported to his board with the recommendation to go ahead. Several of the proposed books were by well-established scholars and, despite the undoubtedly limited market in Germany, the prospects for sale looked promising.

Two books appeared in 1937. The first one was *Bismarck's Reichsgründung im Urteil Englischer Diplomaten* by Veit Valentin. Valentin (1865–1947), one of Germany's foremost historians, was director of the German national archives in Berlin, when he was forced out in 1933. He moved to the United States, where he became a research associate at the Library of Congress.¹⁴³ The second book was also by a

¹⁴³ Another major book by Valentin appeared by Allert de Lange in Amsterdam in 1939.

historian, Heinrich Cunow, *Geschichte und Kultur des Inkareiches*. Cunow, (1862–1936), who was also a social democratic activist and confirmed Marxist, had taught at the Humboldt University in Berlin, until he was fired in 1933. He spent his last few years, unemployed, in Amsterdam. In this book, Cunow idealizes the Inca society as a model communist one. Dutch sociologist Rudolf Steinmetz (1862–1940) provided a foreword.

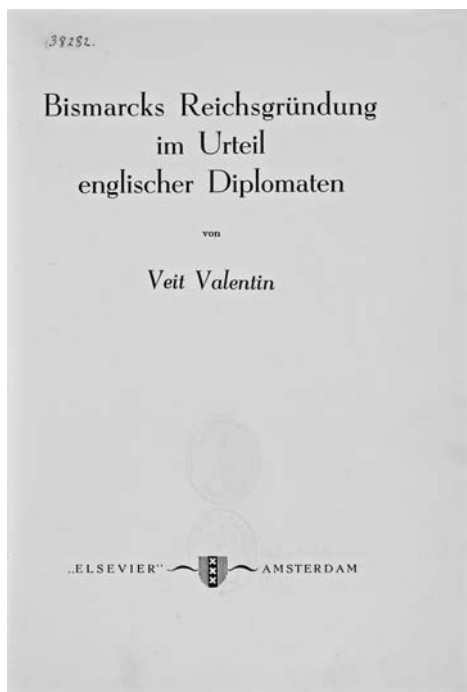


Fig. 18.

A third historical book followed in 1938. It was a curious choice. Friedrich Gundolf (1880–1931) (pseudonym of Friedrich Leopold Gundelfinger), the author, was a poet and an early adherent of Stefan George. He taught literary history at the University of Heidelberg, where one of his admiring students was a young Joseph Goebbels in 1921. Gundolf died of cancer in 1931. The Nazis banned his books in 1933. His Elsevier book *Anfänge deutscher Geschichtsschreibung* was the first part of an intended survey of major German historians. It was edited by art historian Edgar Wind (1900–1971) in cooperation with Gundolf's

widow Elisabeth (1893–1958).¹⁴⁴ The book developed its own reputation and it was reprinted surreptitiously in 1943 by Richard Bing in Amsterdam, long after Elsevier had lost interest in it.¹⁴⁵

The fourth Elsevier book was a change in subject. Klautz reportedly acquired it on the advice of H.J. van Eijk, head of the medical department of the Amsterdam booksellers Scheltema & Holkema. Heinrich Finkelstein (1865–1942) was a very well-respected professor of pediatrics at the University of Berlin. He was forced into retirement in 1933, spent a year at the University of Chicago in 1936, but returned to Berlin afterward. However, after the 'Kristallnacht' in 1938, he was able to flee to Chile. Springer had been his main publisher in Germany, but would not produce the fourth edition of his standard textbook, *Säuglingslehre*. Springer, however, made the illustrations available at no cost and Elsevier was now in the medical book business. A text by another pediatrician, Alfred Kantorowicz, who had fled Germany and was in Istanbul at the time, was also considered but never published. The German book experiment was not going very well. Elsevier was still a very small company, and without international marketing and sales experience. Klautz had tried to tie in sales and distribution with Querido and Allert de Lange, but they showed no interest. It was no surprise, therefore, that the sale of these four books was unsatisfactory and Klautz announced to his board that he would not continue his German-language experiment.

But there was yet one more book published in 1938, which Klautz apparently tried to hide from his board. The book was written by Kurt Baschwitz (1886–1968), a prominent Jewish German journalist and academic, who had fled to the Netherlands in 1933. He found temporary employment at the Institute for Social History in Amsterdam and later lectured at the University of Amsterdam. His book, *Du und die Masse. Studien zu einer Exakten Massenpsychologie* appeared under the Feikema & Caarelsen imprint. Never before had that Elsevier import subsidiary published a book. Baschwitz went underground in 1940 and survived the ordeal. He was later appointed as a professor at the University of Amsterdam and his book did become a standard text.

When Klautz informed his board of his change of heart, he also outlined his next plans. With the German-language sphere shrinking, Elsevier should publish German books in English translations.

¹⁴⁴ Rauff (1992).

¹⁴⁵ Kohn (1977).

This view came to Klautz by way of the Amsterdam science booksellers Dekker & Nordemann, which had actually acquired the translation rights to several important German books and already had published one of these in 1936.¹⁴⁶ Their editorial advisor, in turn, was the German chemist Erich Proskauer (1903–1991), who worked on a free-lance basis for the large Leipzig science publisher, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft.¹⁴⁷

Maurits Dekker (1899–1995), a Dutch chemist, had worked during his studies at the University of Amsterdam for D.B. Centen, the publisher of the leading Dutch weeklies for the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. During his tenure with Centen, Dekker had developed a small mail-order bookselling department. Together with Johann Gerhard Nordemann, a Dutch beer brewer, who had been tutored by Dekker for a number of years, they took over the bookselling operation in 1928. In 1933, when Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft was considering establishing a London branch to offset the political and economic uncertainty in Germany, Dekker & Nordemann had been working with them. While these plans did not materialize, the concept of selling German books in English translations took hold, as this was the only remaining source of foreign currency for German publishers. Proskauer traveled to New York to explore publishing opportunities there. When the Jewish owner of the Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, Leo Jolowicz (1868–1941), once again declined to act in the hope of saving his German company, Proskauer approached Dekker & Nordemann. After visiting New York once more, it was decided to incorporate Nordemann Publishing Company in New York in 1937. But resources were still scarce. The trio now approached Klautz and a partnership was proposed: Dekker & Nordemann would turn over their translation rights to Elsevier, or which they would have the exclusive distribution rights in the United States. Proskauer would serve as an Elsevier editor and plans were made to start an Elsevier office in New York. Klautz also made distribution arrangements in England.

Thus began a new chapter in Elsevier history. In the short span between 1938 and 1940, five English translations of German chemistry

¹⁴⁶ Alfred von Zeerleder. *Technology of aluminum and its light alloys*. Amsterdam, Nordemann Publ. Co, 1936.

¹⁴⁷ Much of the information on the relationship between Proskauer, Dekker & Nordemann and Elsevier has been derived from Pieter Bergmans, *Concept van een kroniek van de Elsevier Publishing Company*. Unpublished manuscript, 1978. See also Edelman (2004).

texts appeared under the Elsevier imprint. They included two books by Fritz Feigl, *Qualitative analysis of spot tests* (1939) and *Specific and Special Reactions for Use in Qualitative Analysis* (1940). *Organic chemistry* (1938) by Paul Karrer. Karrer (1889–1971) would win the Nobel prize in 1938, a big sales boost. They were followed by Wilhelm Prodinger, *Organic reagents used in quantitative inorganic analysis* (1940). The most important book on the list was the massive four-volume third English edition of *Organic chemistry*, by Victor von Richter, and edited by Richard Anschütz and Fritz Reindel. The book served as a formula index to *Beilstein's Handbuch der organische Chemie* and was an essential reference tool. The first volume had already appeared in England in 1934, but Elsevier added the long-awaited final volumes.



Fig. 19.

Proskauer also brought Klautz into contact with Edith Josephy. She, together with other Jewish editors of *Beilstein* had been fired by its publisher, Springer Verlag. She had found temporary employ at

Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, but proposed to Klautz to edit an English-language edition of a new part of Beilstein's fourth edition, which had fallen seriously behind in publication. Klautz, without much hesitation, accepted and offered to bring her and her by now unemployed colleague Fritz Radt to Amsterdam to start work on what would be called, the *Elsevier Encyclopaedia of organic chemistry*, envisaged to comprise of twenty volumes. The two scientists, using the extensive library resources of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, started work in 1937. The first completed volume was printed in 1940 in an edition of one thousand, five hundred copies by Meijer in Wormerveer, who had already made substantial technical investments on behalf of Elsevier's new chemistry publishing program.¹⁴⁸

The threat of war in 1939 made Maurits Dekker, who was Jewish, decide to move with his family to the United States. Both Klautz and Nordemann offered help, and Dekker and Proskauer incorporated Elsevier in New York in January of 1940 as planned. Elsevier's Dutch banking connections, however, delayed the transfer of funds, and when the Germans invaded the Netherlands in May 1940, the New York Elsevier branch was still an empty shell, but for a small supply of books. Dekker and Proskauer, who had already signed up authors for the new program, had no choice but to found their own publishing company, Interscience, while continuing to market and reprint the available Elsevier books through their Nordemann office. They actually completed one more contracted translation under the Elsevier imprint in 1941.¹⁴⁹

Under the German occupation, Elsevier's stock of German historical books could no longer be distributed. It was subsequently sold to Richard Bing, a remainder bookseller in Hilversum, who managed to sell off the stock surreptitiously through cooperating Dutch booksellers. The available supply of the English titles was hidden before it could be confiscated, as was the early volume of the new encyclopedia. Under increasingly difficult circumstances, Josephy and Radt continued their work towards further new volumes. But when the German pressure on Jews manifested itself, Josephy was arrested and sent to Westerbork, together with her aging mother. Radt and his family went into hiding,

¹⁴⁸ Daling (2006).

¹⁴⁹ Friedrich P.Ellinger, *The Biological foundations of radiation therapy*. New York, Elsevier, 1941.

while he kept working with Elsevier's financial and material support as best he could.¹⁵⁰

Klautz himself went into hiding on several occasions, but he and John Robbers continued to manage the company as best they could. The sale of the Dutch-language books, many of which had been languishing on the shelves during the Depression, now sold out quickly to a book-deprived public and Elsevier was able to bring out several new titles which had a broad public appeal. One more English-language title *Helium*, by Willem H. Keesom was published in 1942. But Klautz, like so many of his countrymen, was convinced that Germany could not sustain the war, and started to make plans for the post-war period. He attracted as advisors J.J.A. Ketelaar, professor of chemistry in Amsterdam and Roel Houwink, director of the Rubber Foundation in Delft. He was also in touch with Hendrik G.K. Westenbrink, professor of chemistry in Utrecht, who was still editing the journal *Enzymologica* for W.J. Junk in The Hague. One of the early decisions was to create a book series: *Monographs on the progress of research in Holland*, planned to be in twenty-four volumes for which contracts were signed with researchers during the war. But Elsevier's major editorial and financial success in the waning war years, was the well-advertised planning for a new edition of its *Winkler Prins Encyclopaedia*. Subscriptions in advance were strongly encouraged and a good deal of black market money, was thus laundered into respectable post-war investments.

Elsevier was in fairly good shape when the war was over. There were ambitious editorial plans and there was money. Klautz quickly surrounded himself with a small group of knowledgeable and enterprising colleagues, the financial manager, Rudolf van den Brink (1919-), the chemist Willem Gaade (1908-19) and the bookseller Piet Bergmans (1908-). Together they laid the foundation for Elsevier's successful international science publishing program. Klautz retired in 1952, but the company's future was secure.

Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij

At about the same time in 1937 that Ted Klautz suggested to his Elsevier board to concentrate the scholarly endeavors on English-language translations of German works, elsewhere in Amsterdam, Daan Frank proposed something similar to the board of the Noord-Hollandsche

¹⁵⁰ Andriessse (2008).

Uitgevers Maatschappij. Menkes Daniel (Daan) Frank (1913–95) had joined that company in 1936, after traineeships in Leipzig with Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, in Paris with le Soudier and the Nouvelle Revue Française as well as in England. The company itself was still young. It was founded in 1931 by Gerrit C. de Vlucht, son of the mayor of Amsterdam, who was a prominent member of the leading anti-revolutionary political party. De Vlucht Senior was also a member of the board of the Protestant daily newspaper *De Standaard*, founded in 1872 by Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), a formidable Dutch theologian and politician. Part of that consortium was the printing company Holland, which was badly in need of work beyond what was provided by the newspaper. The Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, founded in 1808 when the Netherlands were still under French rule, had lost the long-time distributor of its publications, Johannes Müller from Amsterdam, in 1926 due to the liquidation of the company. The academy had entertained several offers, including one by the young and energetic international bookseller Menno Hertzberger, who recognized the international value of many of the academy's publications.¹⁵¹ But the choice of the new distributor fell to the Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, which was founded for that very purpose, while the printing business went to its sister company Holland. The award was undoubtedly an act of political patronage. One of the academy's prominent members, the economist Pieter A. Diepenhorst (1879–1953), was also an anti-revolutionary party politician and *Standaard* board member. Diepenhorst served on the board of the new company, together with mathematician L.E.J. Brouwer, C.U. Ariëns Kappers and J.J. Salverda de Grave, all of whom represented the academy, and Amsterdam mayor de Vlucht himself chaired the board.

According to Daan Frank's memoirs,¹⁵² the distribution, let alone the marketing of the academy's publications left much to be desired. Its two major series of proceedings and communications (*Verhandelingen* and *Mededelingen*), in the sciences as well as in the humanities, contained a miscellany of shorter and longer monographs and articles, most of which were written in Dutch, but in recent years increasingly in French, German and English. The publications themselves were mostly used for exchange with other national academies and foreign universities, thus benefiting the academy's library. Sales were largely by

¹⁵¹ Hertzberger to Academy Oct. 5, 1929. Archive KNAW.

¹⁵² Cited by Andriess (2008).

annual series subscriptions. The individual titles remained often bibliographically obscure and their distribution, national and international, was very limited as a result.

Although Daan Frank's proposal to expand the publishing program was approved, it remained without funding, but several steps were made to increase sales, which, in turn could be used for further investments. A major effort to recognize the value and availability of the individual contributions in the academy's series, was accomplished in 1937 with the completion of two catalogs listing the content of the series since the academy's re-organization in 1854. Most of these books were valuable indeed, but largely unknown in the international scholarly and scientific world. As they were published as part of numbered series, libraries initially did not catalog them as individual titles and the book trade was essentially unaware of them. But the list of the Noord-Hollandsche by now also included titles that were sponsored by the academy, but individually published. Several of these were written by German academics. We should mention the philosopher Ignaz Lichtig (1904-), who resided in Amsterdam and the sociologist Ernst Grünfeld (1883-1938), who had fled Germany and lived his final years in England. But probably the most controversial writer on the list was Karl Felix Saller (1902-1969). Saller, an anthropologist and specialist in eugenics, a field subsequently of much interest to the Nazis, openly defied the regime and its fraudulent racist theories and was forced out of his chair at the University of Göttingen in 1935. His books were banned and he was not allowed to publish anymore.¹⁵³ We have not been able to ascertain who paid for or sponsored these publications, but it is unlikely that the North-Holland management had taken the initiative.

Frank traveled to Leipzig in 1938 and arranged with the major international bookseller Otto Harrassowitz to have the relevant academy and other titles, with the Harrassowitz imprint on the cover, included in their catalog.¹⁵⁴ He went to Paris to promote the newly published fifth volume of C. de Boer's major literary-historical editorial effort *Ovide moralisé* (1915-1938). The recently established Nordemann

¹⁵³ Saller went into 'internal' exile in Badenweiler, not far from the Swiss and French borders, where he founded a small homeopathic sanatorium. It was not until several years after the war that the German anthropological community was able to face the implications of its compromised role during the Nazi era. Lüddecke (1995).

¹⁵⁴ Frank to Academy Dec. 9th, 1938. Archive KNAW.

Publishing Company in New York, a subsidiary of the Amsterdam booksellers Dekker & Nordemann, actively mined the list and several important titles were selected for distribution in the United States and elsewhere. One of these, the academy's *Report on viscosity and plasticity* (1934–1938), a topic of considerable international research interest, had to be reprinted in 1939 to meet the demand. Drukkerij Holland was one of the few printers in the Netherlands with the linotype capacity of setting mathematical formulas. The mathematics section of the academy's proceedings was increasingly international in scope and in 1939, the decision was made to market it under a separate title, *Indagationes Mathematicae*, to give it a more recognizable profile. A momentous decision indeed. The journal became an academic and commercial success. It is still being published.



Fig. 20.

The outbreak of the war interfered with plans to start publishing a series of English-language books on physics, in cooperation with Philips in Eindhoven. For several years already, Philips had been

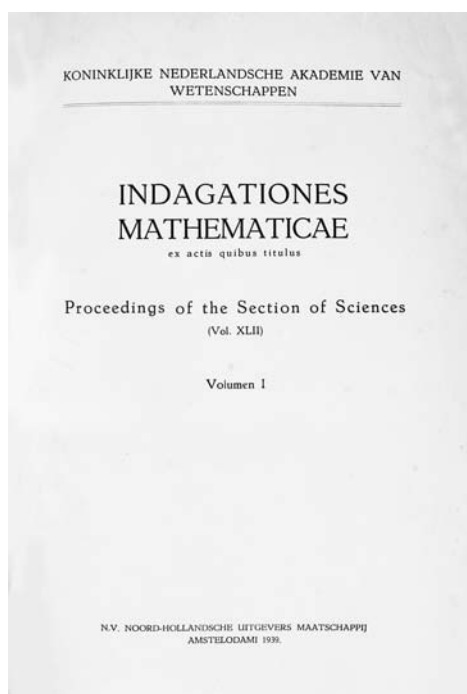


Fig. 21.

publishing research reports in German and English in various fields of their expertise, and the quality of their research was internationally recognized. During the war, the academy continued to function, but Noord-Hollands' programs were seriously curtailed. Not the ambitions, however. Daan Frank, whose father was Jewish but whose mother was not, had been allowed to continue to work at the company, albeit in a less visible capacity. By chance, Frank re-encountered Julius Podolanski (1905-), a brilliant Polish-born Jewish physicist, who had lost his promising assistantship with Werner Heisenberg after the Nazi take-over and had worked for Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft in Leipzig together with Eric Proskauer, when Daan Frank had served as an intern there. Podolanski had moved to Leiden in 1938 as assistant to physicist Hendrik Kramers, who had moved from Utrecht to Leiden in 1934. However, after the German invasion of the Netherlands, Podolanski once again lost his job and he settled in Utrecht, where ultimately he went underground. In 1941 Podolanski introduced Frank

to the newly-appointed physics chair in Utrecht, the Belgian-born Léon Rosenfeld (1904–1974), a close associate of Niels Bohr. Their friendship ultimately led North-Holland to its post-war prominent role in physics. Rosenfeld ultimately published his major book *Nuclear forces*, with the help of Podolanski with North-Holland in 1948. Daan Frank had become the sole owner of the company in 1946, and he used his many academy contacts to build a substantial international publishing program, notably in physics and mathematics.¹⁵⁵

Van Stockum

After the suppression of a social democrat uprising in Vienna in February 1934, the Austrian government issued a warrant for the arrest of the economist and philosopher Otto Neurath (1882–1945). Neurath was in Moscow at the time and he ultimately reached the Netherlands by way of Prague, Poland and Denmark.¹⁵⁶ Neurath and his wife Olga settled in The Hague where he became the leading force of the Mundaneum Institute¹⁵⁷ founded in 1932 and the International Foundation for Visual Education, international scientific research and educational institutes, both of which he had founded as branches of his Vienna Museum.

Neurath was educated in Berlin and Heidelberg. As a social and political activist he was incarcerated temporarily in Munich in 1919 and lost his Heidelberg teaching position. He moved to Vienna afterward, where he founded the Social and Economic Museum. He also developed a strong and life-long interest in pictorial statistics. His ideas and proposals soon gained wide interest and applications throughout Europe, including the Soviet Union, as well as in the United States. His close associate, and the creator of the actual pictograms was the graphic artist Gerd Arntz (1900–1988).¹⁵⁸

In 1929, he wrote, together with the German philosopher Rudolf Carnap (1891–1970) and the Austrian mathematician Hans Hahn (1879–1934), a pamphlet called *Wissenschaftliche Weltauffassung*, which became the manifesto of the Vienna Circle. This major philosophical

¹⁵⁵ For a detailed description of the post-war publishing program see Andriess (2008).

¹⁵⁶ Dahms (1985) Neurath (1973).

¹⁵⁷ Not to be confused with the Belgian-based Mundaneum Institute, which is since 1895 devoted to international bibliography.

¹⁵⁸ Broos; Hefting (1997) pp. 122–123.

movement, representing the neo-positivist school of science and philosophy, developed in the 1920's under the influence of University of Vienna philosophy professor Moritz Schlick (1882–1936). Initially named in honor of the Vienna philosopher Ernst Mach (1838–1916), the Vienna Circle soon included, in addition to Neurath, Carnap and Hahn, other prominent scholars such as Kurt Gödel, Herbert Feigl, Philipp Frank, Friedrich Waismann and Hans Reichenbach.

Carnap and Reichenbach became the editors of the esteemed journal *Annalen der Philosophie* in 1930, but used the occasion to change it into the journal *Erkenntnis*, which became a major publication outlet for the new movement. Felix Meiner in Leipzig was the publisher, who also began to issue monographs. Neurath established in 1933 a pamphlet series called *Einheitswissenschaft* with the publisher Gerold in Vienna, in which he, Carnap, Hahn and Frank published their views.

While the Vienna police were confiscating Neurath's belongings and those of his museum, several of his associates, including Marie Reidemeister were able to hide and ultimately ship to The Hague a large part of its exhibits, which were added to those of the International Foundation for Visual Education.¹⁵⁹ Neurath continued his educational work with the publication of his International System of Typographical Education (ISOTOPE) in *International picture language*. (London, Kegan Paul, 1936). An affluent American adherent supplied monthly payments in support of the programs. Reidemeister and the artist Gert Arntz joined him in The Hague.

Despite his financial and political difficulties, Neurath continued to travel extensively and in 1935 he organized the First International Congress for the Unity of Science in Paris,¹⁶⁰ which allowed the work of the Vienna Circle to continue. Annual congresses were organized in subsequent years: Copenhagen 1936, Cambridge (England) 1937, Paris 1938 and Cambridge M.A. 1939, although it grew more and more difficult for the participants to travel. As a result of the first congress, Neurath organized the Unity of Science Institute in 1936 in The Hague as a department of his Mundaneum Institute. In 1937 it was re-named the International Institute for the Unity of Science. Its major task became the publication of the proposed *International encyclopaedia of*

¹⁵⁹ Cartwright (1996) p. 83.

¹⁶⁰ Actes du Congrès Internationale de Philosophie Scientifique. Paris. 1935. *Actualités Scientifiques et Industrielles*. Paris, Hermann, 1936.

unified science.¹⁶¹ While Neurath stayed in The Hague, Carnap and other members of the dispersed Wiener Kreis had moved into exile in the U.S. in 1936. Carnap and Feigl were appointed at the University of Chicago, where they established the American bridgehead for the movement.

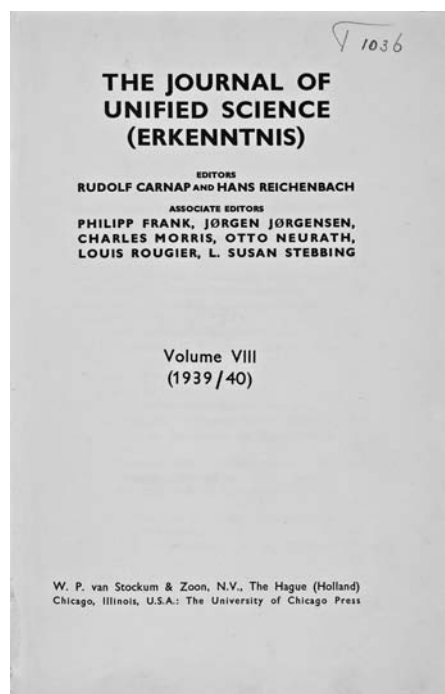


Fig. 22.

Neurath also continued an active writing and publication program in German, French, English and Dutch. This included contributions in German to the Dutch periodical *Synthese*,¹⁶² which had been founded in 1936 and published an English-language supplement *Unity of Science Forum* prepared by Neurath's Unity of Science Institute in 1938 and 1939. In 1937, Neurath's wife Olga passed away, but he was not deterred.

¹⁶¹ Charles Morris in the introduction to the reprint of the *Foundations of the Unity of Science* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971).

¹⁶² *Synthese. Maandblad voor het geestesleven van onze tijd*. Ed. by J.C.L. Godefroy. Bussum, Kroonder. Vol.1- (1936-current).

In the same year he traveled to Mexico City with Marie Reidemeister, where they helped to found the Museum for Science and Industry.¹⁶³

Probably because of his association with the International Statistical Institute, Neurath chose the small The Hague firm of W.P. van Stockum & Co. as his publisher for the Mundaneum and the Unity of Science Institutes. Van Stockum's first Neurath Mundaneum title appeared in Dutch in 1935: *Wereldverkeer. Wijde wereld serie*, no 1.

Founded in 1833 by Wilhelm Petrus van Stockum (1810–1898), the company named after him, operated in the usual European book trade mixture: dealer in antiquarian and new books, auctioneer and publisher.¹⁶⁴ But it was not until van Stockum's son Wilhelm Petrus van Stockum Jr. (1848–1927) and his younger brother C.M. took over the firm after his father's retirement in 1878, that the publishing department began to show substance. Under the leadership of 'Piet' van Stockum Jr., the firm developed a strong list in Dutch history and topography. Van Stockum himself, a fine bibliographer and dedicated book historian, was active professionally and earned the respect of his colleagues. The brothers decided to reorganize in 1906, when the elder van Stockum brother decided to retire and devoted himself to scholarly pursuits. The antiquarian and auctioneering business was split off and continued independently under the leadership of long-time employee J.B. Kerling. The bookstore and publishing division was continued by the younger brother, now assisted by Willem Andries Petri (1880–1960), who had joined the company in 1903. He came from a German-Dutch bookselling family in Rotterdam and, prior to his joining van Stockum in 1903, he had interned with booksellers Leipzig and Paris. When C.M. van Stockum decided to retire in 1921, the company structure was changed once again and from then on Petri was the sole director. Petri, a soft-spoken gentleman with a scholarly bent, would play an important part in Dutch book trade organizations and their professional education programs.¹⁶⁵

Van Stockum operated a fine bookstore in a prime location in The Hague and operated a small, but distinguished publishing program, part of which was international. Since 1916, the firm was the publishing agent of the International Statistical Institute, located in The Hague.

¹⁶³ Cartwright (1996) p. 85.

¹⁶⁴ van Stockum (1988).

¹⁶⁵ His textbook *Beknopte handleiding voor de bibliografie* (Amsterdam, 1936), written together with G.J. van der Lek, has appeared in numerous updated editions since.

Its journal and yearbook had a world-wide distribution.¹⁶⁶ In addition, van Stockum occasionally published dissertations and lectures on various scientific subjects. Together with a Belgian colleague, van Stockum also produced the scholarly series *Economisch-Sociale Bibliotheek*. Almost all of the authors on van Stockum's list were Dutch and included the Dutch chess master Max Euwe. In 1935 van Stockum started publishing a new Dutch-language journal on behalf of the Eugenic Society of the Dutch East Indies, a connection that led to the publication in 1936 of the proceedings of the International Federation of Eugenic Organizations, which had met in Scheveningen.

In the same year, van Stockum issued a polemical political pamphlet by émigré Gustav Slekow, *Humanität in Gefahr, eine Analyse, ein Weckruf* as well as Ria Slekow's travel account *Flammen in Palestina. Eine Urenkelin der Katharina von Bora zwischen Arabern und Juden*. The next year saw the publication of the diary of an Austrian young woman, Marigret Diehl, who had spent time in the Netherlands during the first World War. The book, complete with an introduction by the Belgian Nobel peace prize winner and renowned scholar of international law, Henri La Fontaine (1854–1943), was illustrated by the well-known Austrian artist Franz Katzer. The publication of the book was sponsored by the Rotterdam-based Erasmus Foundation.¹⁶⁷ Also in 1937, van Stockum published a statistical report on the Dutch school system by Philip Idenburg, who became a leading force in the Dutch statistical world. Van Stockum also published a major book by the long-time Utrecht University philosopher Professor Bernard J.H. Ovinck (1862–1944).

When it no longer could be published by the Felix Meiner Verlag in Leipzig, because of its largely Jewish editorial board, Neurath also moved the journal *Erkenntnis* to The Hague in 1938. Two more volumes (7–8) were published by van Stockum in 1939 and 1940 under the new title *Journal of unified science (Erkenntnis)*.

Taking over when publisher Gerold in Vienna was forced to stop publication in 1938, new issues (6, 7, 8 and 9) of the series *Einheitswissenschaft* were now published by van Stockum. The first was a report on the status of the *Encyclopaedia of Unified Science* given by Neurath

¹⁶⁶ Haaxman (1933).

¹⁶⁷ Its founder in 1911 was Elie van Rijkevorsel (1845–1928), who also founded the earlier mentioned Mundaneum Institute in Brussels in 1905. No further publications in this series from the Erasmus Foundation have been identified.

and others at the International Congress for the Unity of Science (3rd, Paris 1937). The second was a lecture by Richard von Mises (1883–1953) on the occasion of the centennial of philosopher Ernst Mach's (1838–1916) birthday. Von Mises, a mathematician and engineer, was Jewish and had settled in Turkey in 1933 after fleeing Germany. In 1939 he moved to the United States, where he taught at Harvard. The last two issues were written by Heinrich Gomperz (1873–1943), a prominent Austrian philosopher, who had been fired because of his socialist leanings in 1934 and had managed to move to the United States in 1935.

By this time Neurath had a dispute with Carnap about the most appropriate publication venue. Carnap suggested the University of Chicago Press, but Neurath insisted that: "We have to rebuild Europe. Do not forget it."¹⁶⁸ However, all van Stockum imprints were officially distributed by that publishing company in the United States.

In 1938, the series was discontinued and replaced with a new and much more substantial one: *Library of unified science*, of which Neurath served as editor-in-chief. The first book was the *Kleines Lehrbuch des Positivismus* by Richard von Mises, which appeared in 1939. It was planned to be followed in 1940 by Hans Kelsen's *Vergeltung und Kausalität: eine soziologische Untersuchung*. Kelsen (1881–1973) was professor of law at the University of Cologne where he served as dean of the faculty when the Nazis took over and was among the first to be fired. He moved to the University of Geneva and settled in the United States in 1940.

The ultimate major accomplishment of Neurath and his associates was the publication of the *International encyclopaedia of the unity of science*. Beginning in 1938, the first two volumes, issued in twenty parts under the title *Foundations of the unity of science* with contributions from many scholars were published by the University of Chicago Press. All contributions were in English.¹⁶⁹

When the Germans invaded the Netherlands in May of 1940 Neurath was able, in very dramatic fashion, to secure a place for himself and his future wife Marie Reidemeister on the very last boat to leave the Scheveningen harbor for England. It was the motorized lifeboat, the *Goede Hoop*, commandeered by four Dutch students, which managed to leave with an overflow of passengers, undetected by the Germans.

¹⁶⁸ Neurath (1994) p.121.

¹⁶⁹ Reisch (1995).

The ship was eventually intercepted by the British Navy at sea and after a short period of internment, Neurath was able to continue his work from Oxford. Gert Arntz remained in The Hague and continued his work in association with the newly founded Dutch Foundation for Statistics.

During the war, van Stockum's Petri was arrested by the Germans toward the end of 1942, as were many prominent Dutch citizens, and sent to a hostage camp. He was released somewhat later in 1943.¹⁷⁰ The manager of his bookstore, the German Jewish émigré, Hans Jacoby, went underground with his wife and survived the ordeal.¹⁷¹

Immediately after the war, Neurath wrote to Petri in The Hague, reporting on his successful escape and inquiring after Petri's welfare.¹⁷² Petri responded that his war experiences had been rough indeed and he pleaded for a shipment of any kind of provisions: "some rice, rolled oats, groats or something like that".¹⁷³ In response, Neurath reiterated his intent to continue the co-publishing arrangement with van Stockum and the University of Chicago Press, in order to assist the re-building of Europe.¹⁷⁴ Somewhat later Petri reported on the status of the book and periodical stock. When the Germans took charge, the type volume nine of the *Journal of unified science*, containing the reports of the last congress, had already been set in type and was awaiting printing by the printer van der Garde in Zaltbommel. However, the type was destroyed and the manuscript lost. Just before the war, van Stockum had shipped some one hundred copies of Von Mises book to the author, who by then was in the United States. Von Mises subsequently supplied the University of Chicago Press.¹⁷⁵ The Dutch stock was now depleted. The good news was that Kelsen's book, which was ready for release when the war broke out, had been saved by the printers and all three hundred copies were ready for distribution. Kelsen, who by now had communicated with Petri, wanted to make many revisions, which would require the publication of a new edition.¹⁷⁶ An English translation,

¹⁷⁰ Schouten (1988).

¹⁷¹ Jacoby (1992).

¹⁷² Neurath Papers. Vienna Circle Archive. Noord-Hollands Archief. Haarlem, the Netherlands. Neurath to Petri.

¹⁷³ Petri to Neurath, June 7th, 1945.

¹⁷⁴ Neurath to Petri 1945.

¹⁷⁵ Von Mises Papers. Harvard University Archives. An English-language translation was published in 1948.

¹⁷⁶ Petri to Neurath, Oct. 30, 1945.

Society and nature, had already appeared in 1943. Ultimately, Kelsen relented and the book was distributed in its original edition, still with a 1941 copyright date, both in the Netherlands and the United States in 1946. A printed note of apology and list of errata was inserted.

Otto Neurath died later in 1945 and his colleagues in the United States decided not to continue to print and publish their new publications in the Netherlands. Van Stockum remained active as a publisher and bookseller, but never re-entered the international publishing market.

Book Arts Printing and Publishing

Despite the Netherlands' glorious typographic history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the quality of book design towards the end of the nineteenth century had declined to a rather pedestrian level. Some will argue that the same applied to the literary content at the time as well. But a renewal in literary spirit was already underway in the 1880's. Around the literary journal *Nieuwe Gids*, a new generation of young Dutch writers was emerging, prominent among whom were Willem Kloos, Frederik van Eeden, Hélène Swart and Herman Gorter. Inspired by Englishman William Morris and his Kelmscott Press after 1890, enterprising Dutch trade publishers such as L.J. Veen, P.N. van Kampen, S.L. van Looy and van Holkema and Warendorf, were recognizing the importance of the relationship of literature and graphic arts. They commissioned young Dutch book designers to enlighten the publications of new and promising young poets and novelists.¹⁷⁷ As the graphic arts began again to flourish in the Netherlands, especially after World War I, so did typography and book design.¹⁷⁸ One of the earliest and foremost innovators was Sjoerd Hendrik de Roos (1877–1962). Employed since 1907 by the renowned typesetting firm Lettergieterij Amsterdam, he designed a new printing type called *Hollandsche Medieval*, the first new Dutch type design in about a hundred and fifty years. It was first used by the Rotterdam trade publisher Brussee. Several other type designs would follow in subsequent years, and de Roos was to become one of the most influential figures in Dutch book design.

¹⁷⁷ Broos (1997).

¹⁷⁸ Lommen (1991).

He established his own press, De Heuvel, in 1926 and continued his output until 1935.

A contemporary of de Roos was Jean François van Royen (1878–1942). Trained as a lawyer, he served a brief internship with publisher Martinus Nijhoff, after which he joined the national postal service (P.T.T.) in 1904. There he served in a leadership capacity for the rest of his career, influencing among other things, the design of postage stamps. Van Royen also collaborated with writers Jan Greshoff and P.C. Bloem in the production of the typographical journal, *De Witte Mier* (1912–1914). He later established the press, De Zilverdistel, in 1913, together with the poet P.N. van Eyck. Issued were several finely printed volumes of poetry, including an edition of Shelley's *Prometheus unbound* in 1917. From 1922 on he printed bibliophile editions under his imprint Kunera Pers.¹⁷⁹

Jan van Krimpen (1892–1958) was influenced by both de Roos and van Royen. Educated at the Royal Academy in The Hague, he had worked with his friend, and later brother-in-law, Jan Greshoff and van Royen on *De Witte Mier* and in 1916 had started his own bibliophile publishing press with which he published young Dutch poets such as Martinus Nijhoff, Jacob Israël de Haan and H.W.J.M. Keuls. In 1920, in close cooperation with Greshoff, Bloem and Jan van Nijlen, he became the designer of a literary book series called *Palladium*. In the twenty-one volumes published between 1920 and 1927, van Krimpen was able to develop his own artistry. When the young A.A.M. Stols started his bibliophile press in Maastricht in 1922, van Krimpen became his close associate. He joined the famous Haarlem printer Joh. Enschedé, in 1925 for whom he designed a new letter type, Lutetia, the first for that company in some hundred years. Van Krimpen articulated his newly found design philosophy in an article for Stanley Morrison's journal *Fleurion* in 1930.¹⁸⁰ He defined book arts, with its close connection between text and typography, as separate from the broader field of graphic arts, where illustrations and other techniques played prominent roles.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Van Royen was arrested by the Gestapo in 1942 on suspicion of anti-German political activities and he died in the concentration camp Amersfoort shortly afterward.

¹⁸⁰ van Krimpen (1930).

¹⁸¹ Dreyfus (1952).

Clandestine printing fell outside the legal limits set by the occupying government. Through an intricate allotment system of paper supplies, the Nazis were effectively able to censor and forbid publications. However, if only small amounts of paper were used, weighing under five (Dutch) pounds, no prior permit for publication was required. Paper suppliers often had left-over supplies that could be used and so did many printers. This opened the way for a number of creative and enterprising people to produce and bring to market artful editions in small quantities for distribution. As we will see, both Stols and Pantheon issued such publications for profit. The scarcity of books in general and the fact that there were always people with money to spend, including those who had earned substantially on the black market, made it a lucrative enterprise.

But there were others, who saw the production of such bibliophile editions as an act of political defiance, sometimes using the profits to support underground activities. Almost immediately from the start of the German occupation, a true illegal underground press movement started, which lasted until the end of the occupation. This courageous and dangerous activity has been well described elsewhere and falls outside the scope of the present study.¹⁸²

A.A. M. Stols

One of the most remarkable figures in Dutch international and book arts publishing of the twentieth century was Sander (Alexandre A.M.) Stols¹⁸³ (1900–1973). Stols was the son of a prominent printer in Maastricht. From an early age he showed a great interest in poetry and typography, the two areas in which he ultimately would excel in his professional career. From 1922 on, Stols produced well-designed bibliophile editions. His list had a strong international literary character with an emphasis on Dutch and French poetry. He visited and corresponded with many prominent French poets such as Paul Valéry (1871–1945) and especially Valéry Larbaud (1881–1957).¹⁸⁴ Using his contacts with the famous contemporary Dutch typographers S.H. de Roos, Jan van Krimpen, Charles Nypels and several printers such as his father's firm Boosten & Stols and Enschedé in Haarlem, his

¹⁸² Winkel (1954).

¹⁸³ The most comprehensive bio-bibliography of Stols is van Dijk (1992).

¹⁸⁴ Kopylov (1986).

publications were always of great artistic value. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, commercial success eluded him. In addition to publishing Stols designed many books for other publishers and printers and served as the printer for foreign bibliophilic associations, such as the Limited Edition Club in New York, the First Edition Club in London and La Compagnie Typographique in Paris. After a stay of several years in Brussels, where he started the Halcyon Press, which published in French, German, English and Dutch, Stols moved back to Maastricht in 1932. A year earlier he had started the Dutch-language poetry magazine *Helikon* under the joint editorship of Ed. Hoornik and himself, which would last until 1939. Ever trying to find a sound financial base for his publishing program, Stols also published popular novels, mysteries and Dutch translations of French novelists, such as François Mauriac. The market for bibliophile editions almost dried up during the economic depression. In 1934, Stols found an associate who was willing to invest in publishing enterprise, a man by the name of R.W. Haentjes Dekker. As a result, attempts were made to broaden the list of publications. After opening a sales office in London, the A.A.M. Stols company issued several titles in English sponsored by the Society for the Study of Nationality Questions in London. Among these was a book on communism by Francis Beeching and three books edited by the Czech historian Kamil Krofta (1876–1945), who would become the minister of foreign affairs of that country in the fateful years between 1936 and 1938. Stols also developed an interest in Czech book design and visited that country on a lecture tour, but, once again, he could not find a ready market for his books because of the economic climate. Because of the lack of financial success, the partnership with Haentjes Dekker came to an end in 1938. Ever searching for additional income, Stols applied for publishing jobs elsewhere, including at Brill's, but did not succeed. In order to raise the necessary funds to continue, Stols auctioned off a large part of his extensive private bibliophile collection through Menno Hertzberger in Amsterdam. Stols could no longer afford the full-time services of his sales manager Geert van Oorschot who had worked for him since 1936. Van Oorschot, an enormously talented book salesman, not only called on Dutch bookstores regularly, but also visited private collectors at their homes, in the after hours, to try to sell the many specialized limited editions that Stols published. Stols was severely limiting his new output and he convinced Amsterdam publisher Emmanuel Querido to take on van Oorschot on a part-time basis. As we have seen in a previous chapter, Querido was much in

need of new sales help at the time and van Oorschot would play an important role at Querido during subsequent years.

Despite his financial problems, Stols produced a new periodical, *Centaur*, in 1939, under the editorship of Gerard den Brabander (pseudonym of J.G. Jofriet), Wolfgang Cordan (pseudonym of Heinrich W. Horn) and Jac. van Hattum. It contained contributions by Dutch novelist, Simon Vestdijk, and French poet, Paul Eluard. Only two issues were published, but they certainly were notable. Cordan, a German exile, whom we will meet later again in his association with Pantheon Press in Amsterdam, was the actual editor-in-chief. In 1940 Stols published Cordan's book of German poetry, *Das Jahr der Schatten*, as well as Cordan's German translation of Ed. Hoornik's *Geburt*, the Dutch original of which had been published the year before. Both books were confiscated by the Germans after they occupied the Netherlands. A new monthly magazine followed in 1940, *Halcyon. A quarterly devoted to book production and the graphic arts*, the first issue was issued just a few days before the German invasion in May, 1940. Contributions were in English, French, German and Dutch and Stols used different printers for each issue. Three volumes were published between 1940 and 1942, although the final issues were not actually produced until 1944, because of paper shortages and production difficulties. Shortly after the German invasion, Stols moved his family and business to The Hague, from where he continued publishing until the end of the war. He was appointed consultant, and later the director of the printing firm Trio in that city, which provided him with a steady income, as well as a location for his own publishing activities. Moreover, during the war years, the market for bibliophile editions began to flourish. Collectors were willing to invest, and the available stock was limited. Stols successfully mined the extensive back-list of Boosten & Stols for this purpose. Always enterprising, Stols took advantage of the situation and produced some fifty limited editions of Dutch, French and English poetry. Paper was scarce, but Stols was able to procure and use small amounts from many of his sources. Most of these editions were printed in limited editions and marketed clandestinely. Some were published with fictitious imprints, back-dating their publication dates. Among the many famous French poets published were Charles Baudelaire, Paul Valéry, Valéry Larbaud, François Mauriac, Henri de Montherland, Arthur Rimbaud and many others. The Germans would not have allowed their publication, but the network of trusted booksellers and collectors was proven to be a safe one. Stols co-produced two major

French books with Amsterdam publisher Pantheon. The Hungarian-born owner, Karl Kollár, whom we will meet again in a following chapter, was still able to travel in Europe. During these trips Kollár sold many copies of the Stols' back-list. During these war years, Stols employed many of his literary and typographical friends. Among these was Huib van Krimpen (1917–2002), son of Jan, and ultimately a prominent typographer in his own right. In 1944, he started his own private printing press in The Hague, where he issued a series called *Le lapin et le chat*, which included such authors as Paul Eluard, Langston Hughes and Charles Cros.

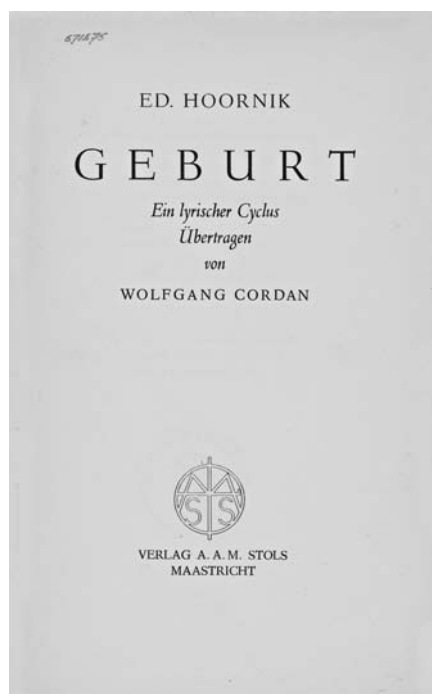


Fig. 23.

Perhaps ironically, while Stols was producing clandestine publications, the printing company Trio, from which he derived his income, printed extensively for the German authorities. Even so, Stols was arrested by the Gestapo in June of 1944 under suspicion of illegal printing activities, of which, of course, he was guilty. He spent two months in prison in Scheveningen and Vught, but was freed in August after

considerable efforts by family members and prominent Dutch artists. Undaunted, after his release, Stols continued his clandestine publication program until the very last days of the German occupation. After the war, Stols continued his international publishing and printing activities with great artistic and ever limited commercial success for a few years more. But in 1951, he went on a long-time consulting mission to Latin America for Unesco, and ultimately sold his business in 1957. His internationally recognized reputation as one of the most creative and productive bibliophile book designers and printers of the twentieth century remains.

Tiefland and Pantheon

Among the many newcomers in the Netherlands in the 1930's was also a publisher, who could not be classified as an exile. Moving from Vienna to Amsterdam in 1937 voluntarily, Hungarian-born Kálmán Kollár established two companies there which would publish literary and scholarly German-language publications for almost a decade.

Dr. Kálmán (Karl) Géza Kollár (1898–1950) came from a long line of Hungarian booksellers. He attended universities in Budapest, Graz and Leipzig and received a doctorate in law in 1924. He served as an academic librarian at the University of Pecs until 1929, when he became a bookseller at the bookstore of the University Press in Budapest.¹⁸⁵ In 1934 he came to Vienna, where he became a partner in the long-established academic bookseller Franz Leo & Co..¹⁸⁶ Although he entered the partnership with minimal resources, he started an ambitious scholarly publishing program. In a short period of time, between 1936 and 1937, Franz Leo published some fifteen historical, philosophical and art historical works, including M. Bernstein, *Die Schönheit der Farbe*, Hans Ruin, *Narren und Apostel*, an illustrated travel account translated from the Danish, Fritz Giese, *Körperseele*, Karl Kerényi, *Apollon. Studien über antike Religion und Humanität*. A. Winterstein, *Telepathie und Hellsehen*, and a book of poetry by Marcell Pellich, *Die Nachtjagd. Gedichte*. Another interesting book was a Palestine travel account *Heimwärts* written by the German Jewish journalist Ernst Harthern under the pseudonym of Niels Hoyer. Kollár appointed

¹⁸⁵ Jenő Hortobágy, *Keresztyen Magyar Közéleti Almanach*. Budapest, 1940–44.

¹⁸⁶ The memories of Kollár's tenure there are far from favorable. Correspondence in 2009 with Dr. Klaus Remmer, retired owner of Franz Leo.

Dutch publisher and bookseller J. Philip Kruseman in The Hague as co-distributor.

Perhaps anticipating the disastrous political future in Austria, the publishing division of Franz Leo & Co. in Vienna was officially closed down in July of 1937¹⁸⁷ as Kollár moved the company to Amsterdam, where he incorporated it and continued the publishing program. Amsterdam, Vienna and Leipzig were now listed as the publication places. Leipzig, with its network of wholesalers, was the place from which German distribution took place.¹⁸⁸ The location of the company in Amsterdam was Leidschegracht 78, the offices of Dutch trade publisher L.J. Veen.

As owner of Franz Leo & Co. in Amsterdam was listed Maria (Mies) Theresia Veen (1901–1980), daughter of Lambertus Jacobus Veen (1863–1919), whose prominent Amsterdam publishing company L.J. Veen was founded in 1887. Kollár and Veen had apparently worked together in Vienna in Franz Leo & Co.. In a December 1936 interview with the Dutch newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, Mies Veen was quoted as being interested in publishing Dutch authors in German translations.¹⁸⁹ Franz Leo had indeed published at least two such titles: Aart van der Leeuw's *Ik en mijn Speelman* appeared in a German translation by Annie Gerdeck-de Waal as *Flucht vor der Ehe* (1936). It was followed by Antoon Coolen's *Jan der Schuhflicker und sein Wiener Kind*, a translation by Kurt Lenzberg of *Jantje de Schoenlapper* (1937).

In October of 1937, the Franz Leo name was formally changed in Amsterdam to Tiefland Verlag, a direct German translation of the Dutch words Lage Landen (Low Countries). At the time of Kollár's arrival, the L.J. Veen company was managed by A.P. Abramsz who had been appointed in 1919, after Veen Sr. passed away. He was assisted by Rinse van der Velde, who would succeed Abramsz in 1938. Until her return to Amsterdam, Mies Veen had played no previous role in the company.¹⁹⁰

During the transition from Franz Leo to Tiefland, Kollár had begun to publish a periodical *Theater der Welt. Zeitschrift für die gesamte*

¹⁸⁷ Franz Leo is still a major booksellers in Vienna today.

¹⁸⁸ Kollár had no relationship with Pantheon Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft in Leipzig. This company, operated by H. Schmidt and C. Günther, sold the German-language remainders of the ambitious Pantheon Casa Editrice in Florence, founded by Kurt Wolff in 1924 and closed down in 1930. Edelman (2006).

¹⁸⁹ van Faassen (2004). See also *Het Vaderland*, 7/12/1936.

¹⁹⁰ Veen (1947).

Theaterkultur. Its editors were Joseph Gregor (1888–1960) in Vienna, (vol. 1, nrs. 1–8), Carl Niessen (1890–1969) (vol. 1, nr. 9) in Cologne and Edmund Statler in Luzern. The cover of the first issue, designed by Franz Katzer, only mentions Franz Leo Verlag & Co., Wien-Amsterdam-Leipzig as publisher, but nr. 9 places the Franz Leo Verlag in Amsterdam only. The cover for the completed volume in 1937 lists Tiefland Verlag, Amsterdam-Leipzig. Vol. 2, nr. 1 has the same imprint with the note that it was formerly published by Franz Leo Verlag. However, after the Anschluss, the Nazi take-over of Austria in 1938, the journal's nr. 6 issue (June 1938) had a new Vienna publisher, Saturn Verlag in addition to the Tiefland imprint. It would be the final issue.¹⁹¹ In March of 1938 Karl Kollár and Mies Veen were married in Amsterdam.

Shortly after founding Tiefland Verlag, Kollár started yet another new publishing venture in Amsterdam: Pantheon Akademische Verlagsanstalt. Once again, he used the Amsterdam address of L.J. Veen and added a Leipzig location on the title pages. The German distributor in that city was the well-established wholesaler Carl Fr. Fleischer, who also had handled the Franz Leo account. The new company's first publication was another periodical, *Helicon; Revue internationale des problèmes généraux de la littérature*. Edited by the literary scholar János (Jean) Hankiss, professor at the University of Debrecen in Hungary, the journal was published under the auspices of the International Committee of the History of Modern Literature of the International Congress of Historical Science in Paris.

The journal was founded in the spirit of re-uniting the scholarly world, which had suffered so much in the aftermath of World War I. As a result, it had an impressive international editorial board, chaired by Fernand Baldensperger (Harvard), among which were Paul van Tieghem (Paris), Julius Petersen (Berlin), and Arturo Farinelli (Turin). While formally published in Amsterdam, the journal was actually printed in an edition of one thousand copies in Hankiss's Hungarian hometown, Debrecen. The journal contained articles and reviews in

¹⁹¹ Perhaps ironically, Saturn Verlag had been owned until the German invasion by Dr. Fritz Ungar (1898–1989). Ungar had founded the company in 1926 after he withdrew from the now famous Phaidon Verlag, which he had founded in 1922. His list was strong in literature, history and politics. Ungar was Jewish and in July of 1938 he was forced to turn over the company to its only non-Jewish staff employee Theo L. Goerelitz. For details see Hall (1985) vol. 1, pp. 414–417, vol. 2, pp. 358–362). Ungar emigrated to the United States where he founded the successful Frederick C. Ungar Publishing Company in New York in 1940.

German, English, Spanish, French and Italian produced by some seventy-eight scholars from fifteen different countries. Although Hungary remained politically neutral between 1939 and 1941, there were numerous editorial and financial problems as a result of the war and the displacement of many authors. These problems only increased as the war continued. Despite Kollár's efforts and optimism in his correspondence with Hankiss, the journal closed down after completion of volume five in 1943.¹⁹²

Pantheon's first books closely followed the earlier Franz Leo list. Among the new titles was the first (and only) volume of *Archiv für spiritualistische Philosophie und Geschichte*, edited by Wladimir Szykarski. Printed in Lithuania, the home country of the editor, the complete volume was dedicated to the works of the German philosopher Gustav Teichmüller (1832–1888). It was followed by Antal Szerb's *Die Suche nach dem Wunder. Umschau und Problematik in der modernen Romanliteratur*. The latter still mentioned Tiefland as the copyright holder. They were followed by the German translation of prominent Dutch historian Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* in 1939. The original Dutch edition had appeared a year earlier. Several more Huizinga translations would follow in subsequent years. Kollár also included Belgian historian Henri Pirenne in his list. In 1939 he published a series of short, but well illustrated German-language art books. They were co-productions with Pierre Tisné in Paris who published the French, English and Spanish editions as well. Among them were studies on Memling (1939), Cézanne (1939), Rembrandt (1939), Velázquez (1940), Goya (1941) and Hieronymus Bosch (1941). These books were all well received and several titles were reprinted in subsequent years.

In 1940 Kollár renewed his cooperation with Karl Kerényi, whose book *Apollon* he had published under the Franz Leo imprint in 1937. Kerényi (1879–1973) was born in Hungary, studied in Budapest, Greifswald and Heidelberg and earned his doctorate in classical philology in 1927. In 1934 he became a professor at the University of Pecs in Hungary, where Kollár had worked in the university library. Their first joint publishing venture was a numbered series called *Albae Vigilae*. It consisted of relatively short contributions by Kerényi and others on myth and religion in ancient Greece and Rome. Between 1940 and

¹⁹² Gorilovics (1994).



Fig. 24.

1942 a total of fifteen such issues appeared under the Pantheon imprint and several were reprinted in subsequent years. Samson Eitrem (1872–1966) of the University of Oslo, served as editorial advisor to Kerényi.

The booklets in this series were well designed, illustrated and printed. The series also marked the long-time cooperation between Kerényi and the psychologist C.G. Jung (1875–1961). Their work together ultimately led to the publication of the now classic, *Einführung in das Wesen der Mythologie*, which was published by Pantheon in 1943. When Kerényi went into exile in Ticino, Switzerland in 1944, the series was continued by Rhein Verlag in Zurich. Pantheon also published a new and revised edition of Kerényi's *Apollon* which appeared in 1941.

Meanwhile, L.J. Veen's director Rinse van der Velde left the company in January 1941.¹⁹³ Mies Kollár-Veen took over the directorship,

¹⁹³ Van der Velde moved to van Holkema and Warendorf in Amsterdam, where he succeeded Marinus Warendorf, who was Jewish, and who had been forced to sell his shares before leaving for the U.S..



Fig. 25.

assisted by her younger brother Lambertus (Bert) J. Veen. As literary editorial advisor, she continued to rely on Johan van der Woude, who had been editor of their successful series *Prominenten*.

In June of 1941, Kollár appointed the German scholar Wolfgang Frommel as editorial advisor for Pantheon. Frommel (1902–1986), a colorful and flamboyant devotee of the German poet Stefan George (1868–1933), had studied theology, law, art history and philosophy in Heidelberg. He was one of the founders of the Verlag Die Runde in Berlin in 1930, he hosted a late-night literary radio show for a while even after the Nazis took over, and taught at the University of Greifswald, but ultimately decided in 1937 to leave Germany. Frommel became editor at the Verlag Benno Schwabe in Basel. In that capacity, he traveled extensively in the rest of free Europe. In May 1940 he was in the Netherlands when the Germans invaded, and he found initial hospitality in the home of the poet Adriaan Roland Holst in Bergen. There he became friends with such luminaries as Victor van Vriesland, Gerard van der Leeuw and Johan Huizinga.

By his own admission, Kollár's knowledge of the German language was not quite satisfactory, and Frommel's extensive publishing experience was a great help to the fledgling editorial program of Pantheon.¹⁹⁴ Given the limitations of staff, space and printing paper, Kollár and his wife envisioned an annual list of between twelve and twenty titles. For a proposed monthly fee of dfl. 120.00 plus profit sharing, Frommel's tasks included the correspondence with authors, the editorial preparation of manuscripts and corrections of proofs, as well as the solicitation of reviews. Kollár had already secured several of these in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Frommel would receive additional payments for translations.¹⁹⁵

One of the earliest publications in which Frommel was involved was Johann Gottfried Herder's *Menschheit und Nation*, a selection of his letters which were selected and edited by Frommel himself. Kollár made contact with the German literary scholar Albert Vigoleis Thelen (1903-). Thelen had spent some time in the Netherlands in 1931, where he met with Victor van Vriesland, Menno ter Braak, Hendrik Marsman, Jan Greshoff and others as well as his future wife. Thelen moved later to Mallorca and in 1934 he became acquainted with the work of the Portuguese poet and mystic Teixeira de Pascoaes (1877–1952). Thelen then devoted himself to promoting and translating the works of de Pascoaes. Working with Hendrik Marsman, several Dutch translations were published by Meulenhoff in Amsterdam between 1937 and 1939. Kollár proceeded to publish a German version of one of these, *Hieronymus. Der Dichter der Freundschaft* under the Tiefland imprint in 1942. In the same year he published Thelen's *Schloss Pascoaes*, a volume of poems. Thelen spent the war years with Pascoaes in Portugal.¹⁹⁶

Frommel also introduced Wolfgang Cordan (pseudonym of Heinrich Ewald Wolfgang Horn, 1909–1966) to Kollár. Cordan, a German poet, had moved to the Netherlands after Hitler's take-over in 1933 and became closely associated with a group of young Dutch poets led by Ed. Hoornik (1910–1970). In 1934 Cordan had published *De Wijzen van Zion* by Boekenvrienden Solidariteit, a publishing group active in

¹⁹⁴ a.l.s. Kollár to Frommel June 20, 1941. Wolfgang Frommel Archief. Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

¹⁹⁵ a.l.s. Kollár to Frommel. June 24, 1941. Wolfgang Frommel Archief. Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

¹⁹⁶ Thelen's long-awaited autobiographical novel *Das Insel des zweiten Gesichts* was published by van Oorschot in 1953. van Voorst (2005).

exile publications.¹⁹⁷ Using his pseudonym, Cordan became editor of the Dutch-language anti-fascist and surrealist monthly *Het Fundament*. Together with the Dutch poets Gerrit den Braber and Jac. van Hattum, he edited in 1939 the international literary journal *Centaure*, which was published by A.A.M. Stols.¹⁹⁸ Only two issues of *Centaure*, mostly in the German language appeared. In 1942 Kollár collaborated with Stols in producing beautiful editions of works by Benjamin Constant and François Villon. The two publishers did not agree on the proposed sales price. Kollár was convinced he could charge more internationally, but this was not allowed under Dutch publishers rules. Under the compromise, two editions with separate title pages were produced. Pantheon's edition was intended for export at a higher price.¹⁹⁹

One of the early Pantheon publications was Cordan's German translation of a book edited by Caroline Henriette de Jonge, *Niederländische Malerei im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert*. Together with Frommel, Cordan began in 1941 to edit a series called *Kentaure Druck*. It consisted of a series of small, finely printed literary booklets. They were designed and illustrated by Dutch graphic artists and printed by Meijer in Wormerveer, Boosten & Stols in Maastricht and other fine printers in limited bibliophile editions. The first in the series was a collection of Cordan poetry, *Das Muschelhorn*, with a drawing by Charles Eyck which appeared in 1941. Second was an edition of poems by Friedrich Hölderlin, selected by Cordan with a drawing by A.C. Willink. Then followed Wolfgang Frommel's selection from the writings of Rudolf Pannwitz (1881–1969) in honor of his sixtieth birthday. Kollár also published Pannwitz's *Nietzsche und die Verwandlung des Menschen* in 1943. A total of six issues appeared in the *Kentaure Druck* series until 1944.²⁰⁰ Cordan, ever active, also worked with the young printer, Martin Engelman (1924–1992), typographer and painter, who had discovered a print shop in a monastery in the province of Limburg, where his uncle was a monk. The Germans had locked it up, but Engelman managed to re-open it and use it for a series of fine printings. One of these was Cordan's, *Stefan George in Locarno*.

Meanwhile, Cordan was also active as a translator and editor of Dutch literature. Using the Tiefland imprint for these purposes, Kollár

¹⁹⁷ Manasse (1999).

¹⁹⁸ Renders (1989); Kluncker (1982).

¹⁹⁹ van Dijk (1992) pp. 223–224.

²⁰⁰ The series was continued by Cordan after the war without Kollár's involvement.

published a series of German translations of Dutch novels, a program already started under the Franz Leo imprint in 1936. Produced in attractive, uniform editions designed and illustrated by R.H. Stöcker and printed by Boosten & Stols in Maastricht, the series consisted of short novels by Antoon Coolen, Aart van der Leeuw and Elisabeth Zernike. Having sold out of the 1937 translation of Coolen's *Jan de Schoenlapper*, Coolen insisted on a new translation by Cordan for the second edition.²⁰¹ Cordan also edited anthologies of Dutch and Flemish literature, *Spiegel der Nederlande* (1941) and *Der Vlämische Spiegel* (1943). The latter was also issued in a separate edition by Het Kompas in Antwerp. Since 1942 there had been a close relationship between Veen and Het Kompas, a literary publishing house founded in 1929, with their sharing production and distribution. Apparently using these contacts, Kollar was able to get printing paper allotments from Belgium, which was under a military German government with less stringent regulations than the German civilian one in the Netherlands. On behalf of Veen, Kollár acquired half of the stock of Het Kompas in 1943 and appointed Arie Quakernaat, a Dutchman already living in Antwerp, as director. He was succeeded in 1944 by Catharina van Breda-de Vries.²⁰²

For a while Frommel had taught at the international Quaker school in Eerde near Ommen where children from exiled German families were being housed and educated. A fellow teacher was Billy Hildesheimer, a long-time Jewish friend. An attempt to flee together to England did not succeed. But thanks to his Dutch literary contacts in Bergen, he had met the artist Gisele Waterschoot van der Gracht (1912-), in whose third-floor apartment on the Herengracht in Amsterdam he and several of his German and Jewish friends found a remarkable refuge from 1942 until the end of the war. Among them were some of Frommel's associates from the Quaker School, the twenty-three year old German Jewish poet Friedrich W. Buri, the young Czech Jew Claus Victor Bock, and the young Dutch poet Vincent Weyand, a friend of Gisele's. Weyand also translated George into Dutch, an edition of which was printed clandestinely by the earlier mentioned Martin Engelman.²⁰³

²⁰¹ a.l.s. Kollár to Cordan July 7, 1941. Wolfgang Frommel Archief. Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

²⁰² Humbeeck (2001).

²⁰³ Lewin (1983); Bock (1985); Goldschmidt (1966). The survivors of this group founded the publishing company Castrum Peregrini in Amsterdam in 1950. Its German-language publications are devoted to the poet Stefan George and his circle.



Fig. 26.

Frommel's group, secluded in the third-floor apartment on the Herengracht, received many visitors. One of these was Percy (Peter) Gothein. Born in Bonn in 1896, where his father was a professor of economics, Gothein became a specialist in early Italian Renaissance, especially Venetian humanism. He was the author of biographies of Francesco Barbaro (Berlin, Die Runde, 1932) and Zaccaria Trevisanos (Venice, 1942). He also published poetry and had been Frommel's friend since the early 1930's. He had actually met Stefan George as a young man and became a close associate of the poet. He was greatly influenced by him. At the request of Frommel, Kollár issued an invitation to Gothein to visit Amsterdam in the fall of 1943 for the purpose of discussing a possible publication. This invitation allowed Gothein to acquire the necessary travel documents. On arrival, much to his pleasant surprise, Gothein discovered that Frommel was behind the invitation and it was a happy reunion. Gothein became the prime interpreter of the George cult traditions to the Frommel circle in Amsterdam.

The discussions with Kollár were productive and resulted in the publication of the German translation of his Trevisanos biography. Kollár also published Gothein's dramatic poem *Tyrannis: Scene aus altgriechische Stadt*, which was potentially a politically dangerous publication. Kollár had it printed under the pseudonym of Peter von Uri in 1944. To conceal its origin even more, Kollár used a fictitious imprint of Pegasos Verlag and listed the publication date as 1939.

After his identity had become known to the occupying Germans, Frommel continued to publish his own work under the pseudonym François Wladimir L'Ormeau. One of these books, *Templer und Rosenkreuz* was a substantial study of the work of Stefan George. Only seven copies were printed as proofs and two copies on drawing paper supplied by Gisele Waterschoot van der Gracht. The date of publication 1941 was fictitious. The book actually was printed by Meijer in Wormerveer in 1944.²⁰⁴

Another guest at the Herengracht in 1943 was Dr. Theo Haubach, who knew Frommel from his Heidelberg days and had introduced him to the poetry of Stefan George. Through Haubach, Percy Gothein acquired another visa to the Netherlands in 1944. Gothein and Haubach were part of the 'Kreisauer Kreis', a German underground group led by Graf Moltke. Gothein's mission to the Netherlands was a secret one, after which he was expected to go underground in the Netherlands. He once again visited his friends in Amsterdam, but the dangers of calling attention to the apartment full of people who had not been outside for years was such that Gothein, together with Simon van Keulen and Vincent Weyand, decided to travel to Ommen, where they thought themselves safe. On the way, however, they were arrested by the Gestapo. Van Keulen was able to flee. Gothein died in the concentration camp Neuengamme in December 1944 and Weyand in Buchenwald in February 1945. As an associate of the Stauffenberg conspiracy against Hitler, Haubach was hanged by the Nazis in 1945.²⁰⁵

After the war, Kollár, continued his list. Among his new titles in 1945 were French and German translations of Johan Huizinga's newly published *Geschonden Wereld*. He also moved his attention to Het Kompas in Antwerp, which had been formally renamed Pantheon, although the Het Kompas imprint continued to be used for literary works.

²⁰⁴ The book was ultimately published by Castrum Perigrini in 1991.

²⁰⁵ Kluncker (1986).

Together with the newly appointed director Catharina van Breda-de Vries, he quickly expanded the list. Among the new Dutch-language titles, were books by Johan Huizinga and Anton van Duinkerken. Using their joint imprint, a new series, *Lux et Humanitas* was started in which ultimately nine Dutch-language titles were published. Kollár also took over the fledgling Flemish literary journal *De Faun* in 1946. But it was not a success. After various editorial squabbles, Mies Veen and her Dutch literary advisor Johan van der Woude decided to close the journal down. Kollár effectively withdrew from the Antwerp scene afterward and moved to Brussels.²⁰⁶

The marriage between Karl Kollár and Mies Veen had already been officially dissolved in 1943, although the two continued to share the same address in Amsterdam and Mies Veen used her married name until 1946. Tiefland and Pantheon were officially closed down in Amsterdam in 1947. Kollar moved Pantheon from Antwerp to Brussels and continued his scholarly publishing program there. Now competing in name with Veen, he initiated a German-language series, *Lux et Humanitas. Ein Schriftenreihe zur Pflege geisteswissenschaftlicher Werte*. In it, he reissued Herbert Werner Rüssel's *Das Lob der rechten Einsamkeit*, and also added titles by Henri Pirenne, Montesquieu and Giambattista Vico. He used the Swiss publisher Occident Verlag in Zurich for distribution in Switzerland. But his production diminished soon afterward, as did apparently his health. Kollár died in Munich in July of 1950 at the age of fifty-two.²⁰⁷

Kollár had been a curious fit in the Netherlands. His publishing program was unique as was his place inside the L.J. Veen company. He never provoked the Nazi censors and his books were allowed to be distributed in Germany. His bibliophile and clandestine publications found a ready under-the-counter market together with many other such publications in the book-starved Netherlands. A few of his literary associates, notably Cordan, Frommel and Thelen, continued their careers after the end of the war and some of Kollar's publications, especially those of Kerényi and Jung, have had an enduring value. But perhaps his most significant contributions were the three periodicals he published. They embodied his strong views of literature as an international endeavor.

²⁰⁶ Humbeeck (2001).

²⁰⁷ Hankiss (1950).

Other Book Arts Printers and Publishers

In addition to Stols and Kollár, there were several other printers and publishers of note, who produced bibliophile clandestine editions of Dutch, French, German and occasional English literary and historical texts during the German occupation.

August Henkels (1906–1975), a young activist Protestant minister in Winschoten, not far from the provincial capital of Groningen, wanted to do something that would make a symbolic statement after the Germans occupied the country. He discussed his concerns with his local friends Adriana Bruning (1896–1948), teacher of classics and Ate Zuithoff (1912–), teacher of chemistry, both of whom refused to sign the loyalty oath and were out of work. They decided to try to issue a bibliophile edition of the poem *Het Jaar 1572*, by Dutch poet Martinus Nijhoff. The poem celebrated the Dutch liberation from the hated Spanish regime in the sixteenth century and was an appropriate choice. After several inquiries, Henkel made contact with the Groningen graphic artist Hendrik Werkman (1882–1945). Werkman, a rather reclusive artist, who had owned a commercial printing plant, that had gone bankrupt several years before, now painted and printed experimentally solely for his own artistic satisfaction.²⁰⁸ Werkman took to the young people and their spirit and agreed to print the poem, which was issued in December of 1940 with an illustration by Werkman's prominent fellow Groningen artist Jan Wiegers (1893–1959). This was the first publication of their publishing venture called 'De Blauwe Schuit'. This name, the Blue Barge in translation, was a reference to a Netherlandic medieval ship of fools, which was painted blue in allegorical paintings.

Between 1940 and 1945, a total of forty limited editions were produced by De Blauwe Schuit. Henkels was the one who suggested the texts and often edited them himself. Werkman printed and illustrated, while the other two helped distributing the booklets through private networks. The texts used were always historical and meaningful, and they were always illustrated. Among the authors of the texts used were Martin Buber and Martin Luther. Of note also is an edition of the *Sabbath gesänge*, a selection of old Hebrew songs. Although always clear and inspiring to the reader, the texts themselves were never considered illegal.²⁰⁹ Unfortunately, Werkman was arrested in March 1945,

²⁰⁸ Purvis (2004).

²⁰⁹ Zuithoff (1995); Werkman (2008).

without any specific reason, probably just because he was a printer and therefore was under suspicion. He was executed two days before the liberation on May 10th together with several other prisoners. Werkman's body of graphic work, including his Blauwe Schuit productions, is now considered among the best of the twentieth century.

August (Guus) Aimée Balkema (1906–1996) was a bookseller in Amsterdam, with a strong interest in French poetry. Together with the literary historian, Wytze Hellinga (1908–1985), he founded the 'Vijf Ponden Pers' in 1943. The name was a reference to the five pound paper limit for publication without Nazi censorship. Balkema worked closely with typographer Jan van Krimpen, whom we have encountered in this book earlier.²¹⁰ All of the fifty titles produced by Balkema were of very high typographical standards, and there never were any problems in finding markets for them. Balkema sold them himself from under his counter, and several other booksellers were eager to cooperate, although they kept the stock away from view. Although clandestine in nature, the publications were in no way illegal or even politically charged. Among the texts used were those by Thomas Gray, Franz Kafka, de la Rochefoucauld and Paul Léautaud.²¹¹

Yet, several of the editions were pre-dated as a precaution. Balkema, Hellinga and van Krimpen were also involved in illegal work, such as the falsification of personal papers, and did not want to raise suspicions with their lucrative literary work. Hellinga went underground in 1943, and Balkema continued the program independently even for sometime after the liberation. One of Balkema's other associations was with two young Dutch poets, Adriaan Morriën (1912–2002), already published by Stols in 1939, and Fred Batten (1910–1980), an aspiring literary scholar who was interested in French literature. Together they started a bibliophile imprint Het Zwarte Schaap, the Black Sheep in English translation. Their first publication in 1943 was Paul Léautaud's, *Le petit ami*. They also issued reprints of Frédérique Paulhan's *Réflexions* and Stendhal's *Trois jeunes filles*. Batten produced under his own name two sonnets, by Rupert Brooke and Winston Churchill in early 1945.

Of a very different nature was the effort made by three enterprising Utrecht students, Geert Lubberhuizen, Charles van Blommestijn and Sjoerd Leiker. Leiker was the only one of the group who had publishing experience. These friends, who were also involved in the printing of false personal documents, developed an interest in producing

²¹⁰ Dreyfus (1952).

²¹¹ Balkema (1945).



Fig. 27.

bibliophile editions as a way to continue to support their illegal activities. Their first effort to publish was in support of a volunteer network trying to find homes to hide Jewish children in Utrecht. They chose the already famous poem by Jan Campert, *De achttien doden*, which was printed by Jan Hendriks in Utrecht in 1942. It was subsequently reprinted several times and netted the considerable sum of 75,000.00 Dutch guilders. Lubberhuizen went looking for examples and stole two Stols imprints from a bookseller in Arnhem.²¹² In October 1943, they founded their own publishing company, De Bezige Bij, which ultimately produced seventy-two titles. Their first major effort was a fifteen-volume series of Dutch literary works. But they soon branched out into foreign language bibliophile editions. Among the authors they published were Edgar Allen Poe, Guy de Maupassant and John Gay. Later on, they also more brazenly produced several outspoken underground publications, such as *Moffenspiegel* and *Vrij*

²¹² Renders (2004); Roegholt (1972).

Nederlandsch Liedboek, which were considerable popular and financial successes. By this time the company not only was supporting their original Jewish children's charity, but now also provided funds to support artists and writers in hiding. Already in December 1944, they were making plans for a post-war cooperative publishing venture. When the Allied forces were close to entering the Netherlands, De Bezige Bij produced an English-language brochure *It's for Oranje*, which was intended to prepare the Allied soldiers for their encounters with the Dutch. De Bezige Bij, ultimately developed into one of the leading trade publishing companies in the Netherlands under Lubberhuizen's dynamic direction.

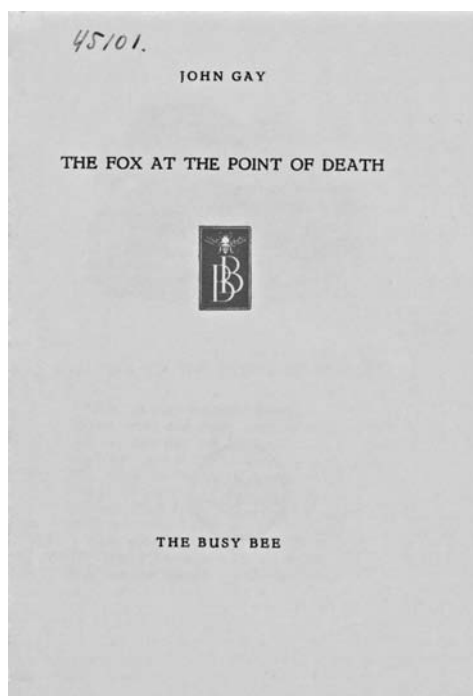


Fig. 28.

Bert Bakker (1912–1969) had worked for the religious publisher, C.A. Daamen already before the German occupation, but after the death of the owner in 1940, he acquired the majority of the stock. He used the Daamen imprint for several clandestine publications, including a 1943 edition of Baudelaire, *Douze poèmes. Les fleurs du mal*, illustrated by the artist, Cees A.B. Bantzinger (1914–1985). Together with

the printer, Fokko Tamminga (1905–1975), Bakker and Bantzinger founded the Mansarde Pers in 1943. Tamminga was the owner of the printing firm ANDO in The Hague, which had been closed by the Germans in 1942, But Tamminga surreptitiously kept printing anyway, ‘borrowing’ electricity from a nearby government building. Among other things, he printed underground newspapers, such as regional editions of *Het Parool en Vrij Nederland*, but also did work for de Bezige Bij and Stols.²¹³ The Mansarde Pers had only a small output, but the publications were of considerable literary significance with authors such as Bertus Aafjes, Gerrit Achterberg and Ed. Hoornik.²¹⁴ After the war, Bert Bakker established his own successful literary publishing company.



Fig. 29.

²¹³ van Velzen (1998).

²¹⁴ van Velzen (1998) Unbeknownst to his partners, Bantzinger had been an active Nazi propagandist during the early stages of the German occupation. When finally exposed in 1985, he committed suicide.

CATALOG OF GERMAN, ENGLISH AND FRENCH BOOKS AND PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN THE NETHERLANDS BETWEEN 1933 AND 1945

1933

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